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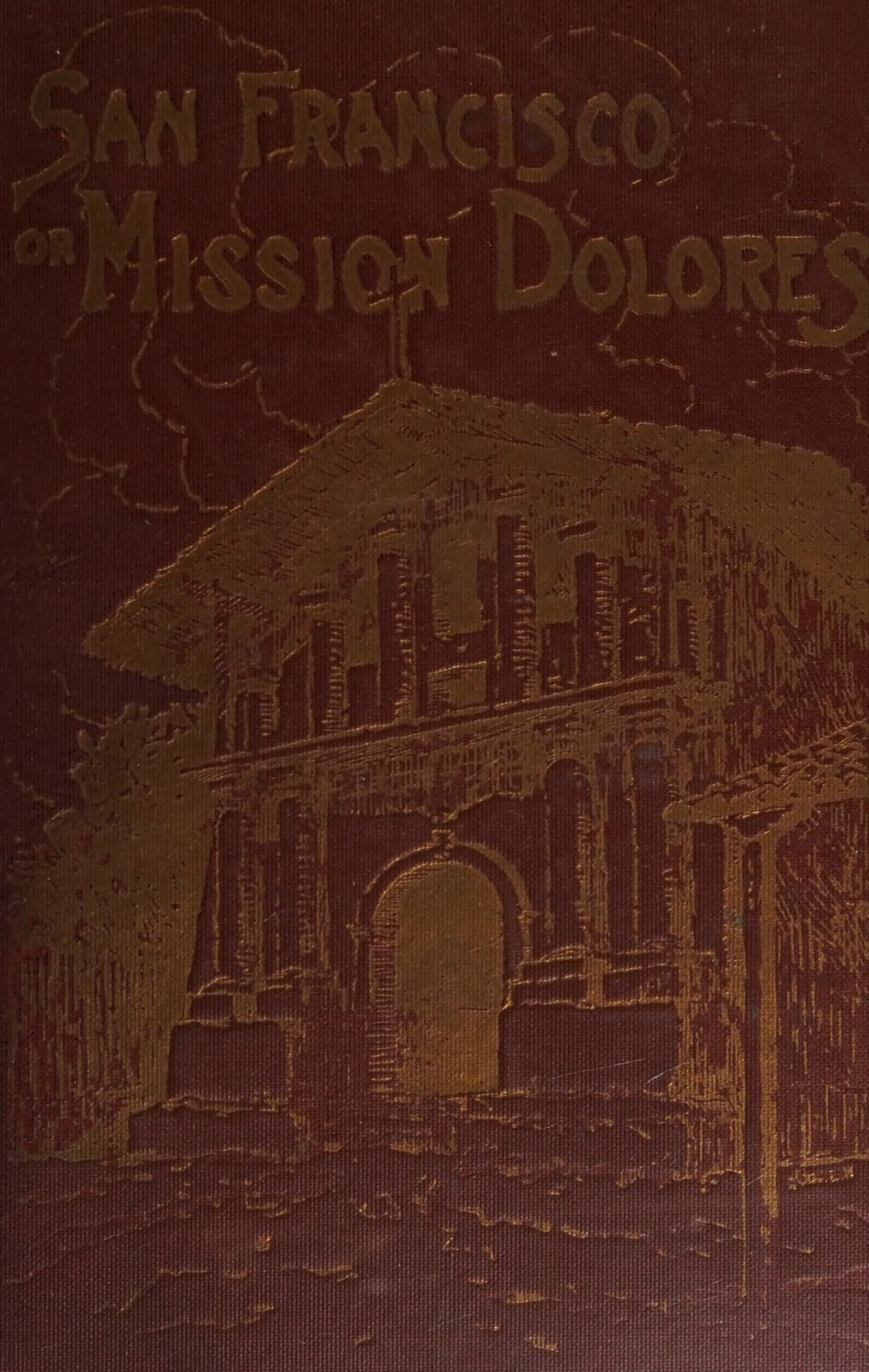

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† Edward J. Hanna

New Series. Local History

SAN FRANCISCO

OR

MISSION DOLORES

WITHDRAWN

BY

Fr. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O. F. M.

Author of "Missions and Missionaries," "Franciscans in California," "Franciscans in Arizona," "Holy Man of Santa Clara," "Mission Santa Barbara," etc.

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PREFACE

San Francisco, the northernmost of the four military departments into which California was divided during the Spanish-Mexican Period, included under its protection the Missions of San José, Santa Clara with the Pueblo of San José, San Francisco de Asís, San Rafael, and San Francisco Solano. The headquarters were located at the Presidio of San Francisco, about one league northwest of the Mission of the same name. This presidio or garrison supplied the guards, from three to eight soldiers under a corporal, for the various missionary establishments. The soldiers and their families occupied quarters outside the Mission quadrangle.

The present volume relates the history of Mission San Francisco de Asís, better known as Mission Dolores, and briefly describes the beginnings of the City of San Francisco. The sources of information are indicated by means of footnotes. In reproducing the facts of the past from Spanish documents and other original fountains not accessible to the public, the author aimed solely at accuracy, brevity, clearness, and completeness.

The attentive readers will discover that, despite the machinations of a hostile military commander to the contrary, Mission Dolores was the first permanent settlement established on the peninsula; that it preceded the founding of the presidio by as much as a month; and that it antedates by five days the Declaration of the Independence of the United States.

With deep gratitude and profound respect the author acknowledges a contribution of $1000 from His Grace, the Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, D. D., Archbishop of San Francisco. This munificent aid and generous encouragement rendered it possible to venture the publication of the present volume.

The author also gratefully acknowledges himself indebted to the Rev. John W. Sullivan, S. T. L., Rector of Mission Dolores Parish, for taking five hundred copies of the book, and for defraying the cost of the cover stamp; to the Rev. Fr. Martin Knauff, O. F. M., Rector of St. Boniface's Church, for demanding one hundred copies; to the Very Rev. Msgr. James P. Cantwell, Chancellor of the Archdiocese, for kindly assistance in obtaining historical data from the Archives of the Archdiocese; to Mr. Edward Borein for the cover design; and to Mr. Charles B. Turrill of San Francisco for the Gerstaecker Papers and numerous illustrations.

CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTER I.

San Francisco Bay.—Captain Sebastian Cermeño Suffers Shipwreck—Expedition in Search of Monterey Bay.—Not Recognized.—A Mystery.—Council Decides to Continue Search.—At Point San Pedro.—A Surprise.—San Francisco Bay.—Recognized.—"Arm of the Sea."—Sergeant Ortega the Discoverer.—More Futile Searches.—Return March Ordered.—At Monterey Bay.—Missed Again.—At San Diego. 3

CHAPTER II.

Expedition in Search of San Francisco Bay.—At Alameda, Berkeley, San Pablo Bay.—Carquinez Strait.—San Francisco River, Now San Joaquin River.—Return March.—Another Expedition.—The Route.—Indians.—San Francisquito Creek.—Raising of a Cross.—Lake Merced.—Point Lobos.—The Golden Gate.—First Cross Planted. 15

CHAPTER III.

Viceroy Bucareli's Orders.—Object of the Expedition.—Two Missions to be Founded.—The *San Carlos* the First Ship to Pass Through the Golden Gate.—Angel Island.—Fr. Santa Maria First Priest on the North Shore.—Captain Ezeta's Expeditions.—Colonel Anza's Land Expedition.—Well Provided.—The Journey.—Erratic Captain Rivera.—An Insolent Sergeant. 24

CAPTER IV.

Colonel Anza with Fr. Font and Guards Proceeds to San Francisco Bay.—At Point Lobos.—The Golden Gate.—Cross Planted on Site of Future Presidio.—Fr. Font's Prophetic Vision.—A Memorable Day.—Dolores.—Bear Fight.—Return March.—Palo Alto.—The Colonists at Monterey.—Felipe de Neve Appointed Governor.—Lieutenant Moraga and Fr. Palóu Proceed to Found Presidio and Mission.—Temporary Chapel. 35

CHAPTER V.

Mission Locality.—The Indians.—Preparations for Building Presidio and Mission.—*The San Carlos.*—Presidio Plan.—Dedication.—Titular of the Presidio.—Celebration.—Expedition by Land and Water.—Discoveries.—The Mission Constructed.—Dedication.—Titular Feast.—Generous Captain Quiros.—Dates False and True. 48

Page

CHAPTER VI.

Indian Battle.—Insolence of the Savages.—Punishment.—First Converts.—Indian Dress, Food, Beliefs, Marriage, etc.—Captain Fernando de Rivera.—Transferred to Lower California.—Title Page of Registers.—At Whose Expense Missions were Founded. 59

CHAPTER VII.

Founding of Santa Clara Mission.—Pueblo of San José—*The Santiago*.—Fr. Serra Appears at the Mission.—His Desire.—*The Santiago* Again.—Fr. Serra Empowered to Confirm.—First Secular Priest.—*La Favorita* and *La Princesa*.—Captain Bodega's Gift.—A Procession.—Fr. Serra's Remarkable Journey.—His Malady.—Confirms at Santa Clara and San Francisco.—Sad News.—Departure of Ships.—Fr. Serra Returns to San Carlos. 70

CHAPTER VIII.

Political Changes Detrimental to the Missions—Neve Forbids Fr. Serra to Confirm.—The Church in Spanish Dominions.—De Croix's and Neve's Assumption.—Double Rations to the Missionaries.—The Purposes.—Annual Stipends.—Neve Discontinues Rations.—His False Reasoning.—Bucareli's Instructions.—Pathetic Reply of Fathers Palóu and Murguia.—Neve's Quibbling.—The Missionaries in a Dilemma.—Fr. Serra's Unanswerable Arguments.—Viceroy Mayorga Decides in Favor of the Fathers. 80

CHAPTER IX.

Neve's Hostility Manifested.—Fr. Marguia Offers Samples.—New Scheme to Harass the Missionaries.—*The Santiago*.—Fr. Serra and Fr. Crespi at the Bay.—Laying Cornerstone for the Church.—Fresh Supplies at Last.—Fr. Serra's Last Visit to Mission Dolores. 93

CHAPTER X.

Governor Fages and Family at Mission Dolores.—Official Reports.—Death of Noble José J. Moraga.—His Successors.—The Presidio and Its People.—Governor Fages on Mission Dolores and the Missionaries in General.—The Mission Church.—George Vaucouver and His Observations.—At the Mission.—The Neophytes.—The Church.—Methods of the Fathers. 104

Page

CHAPTER XI.

Dedication of Mission Church.—First Reports.—A Collection for Nuns.—School at the Presidio.—Illiteracy.—Fort San Joaquin.—New Buildings.—Pottery-Making Taught.—Weather Reports.—Fr. Landaeta Retires.—Mission Progress.—Runaways.—A Disaster.—Fr. Lasuén's Letter.—Numerous Converts.—Demented Fr. Fernandez.—His Charges.—Governor Borica Hasty.—Fr. Lasuén's Action.—Another Mishap.—Fr. Espi's Excuse.—Theodore Hittéll.—Borica Sensible.—Savages Punished. 117

CHAPTER XII.

Catalonian Volunteers.—A Ridiculous Project.—El Rancho del Rey.—Building Activities.—Epidemic of Measles Among the Indians.—Russian Ship in the Harbor.—N. P. de Rezánof.—Langsdorff's Fair Description of Life and Labor at the Mission. . 132

CHAPTER XIII.

Yerba Buena.—Conditions at the Presidio.—Earthquake.—Mission Church and Church Goods.—An Expedition.—An Interrogatório on the Indians and Indian Habits in Paganism.—The Replies of the Fathers. 144

CHAPTER XIV.

Otto von Kotzebue's Visit.—His Prejudiced Statements.—What Was True.—Life and Amusements at the Mission.—The Soldiers of the Garrison.—Status of the Neophytes.—Camille de Roquefeuil's Visit.—His Description.—Extraordinary Mortality Among the Indians.—The Cause.—Beginnings of San Rafael. . . . 154

CHAPTER XV.

The Neophytes at the Mission.—Wild Scheme and Wilder Methods.—New San Francisco Founded.—Action Disapproved.—Gov. Luis Argüello and Assembly Usurp Authority.—Fr. Sarría Lets in Light.—San Francisco Solano.—Preparations for an Expedition to the North.—The Route and Incidents. 164

CHAPTER XVI.

Mexico Independent.—Oath of Independence.—Delegate to Congress Elected.—First Territorial Assembly.—Temporary Governor Chosen.—Upheaval in Mexico.—Oath on New Constitution Demanded.—Oath Taken at San Francisco Presidio.—Fr. Sarría's Attitude and Reasons.—Church Goods at the Mission.—Few Neophytes.—Poverty in Charge. 176

Page

CHAPTER XVII.

The Lands of the Mission.—Live Stock.—Kotzebue and J. M. Estudillo.—Beechey's Visit and Impressions.—Duhaut-Cilly at Mission and Presidio.—Alfred Robinson's Two Visits.—His Journeys.—Observations.—Revolt of Joaquin Solís. 187

CHAPTER XVIII.

Anti-Spanish Legislation.—Mexican Friars Arrive.—The Presidio Under Mariano Vallejo.—His Bombastic and Lying Effusion.—Birds of a Feather.—Bancroft's Contempt for Them.—Christian Missions Aided Except in California.—Aims of Paisano Chiefs.—Figueroa Warns Mexican Government.—J. B. Alvarado's Disloyalty Squelched by Fr. Durán.—Vallejo Himself Accused.—Fr. Garcia Diego.—Fr. González Rúbio.—Endless Forced Contributions.—Figueroa Pleads.—The Missions Maintain the Civil and Military Government. 199

CHAPTER XIX.

An Arch-Conspirator.—Schemes Against Mission Property.—Helpmates.—Colonization Plan.—Juan Bandini.—The Real Purpose.—The Colonists.—First Secularization Act.—Híjar's Instructions.—Bancroft Shocked.—President Santa Anna Saves the Missions.—Conspirators Foiled.—Hypocritical Legislature.—Schemers Banished.—Figueroa Opposed to "Secularization."—Fails to Have Neophytes Leave the Missions.—His Sound Reflections and Unanswerable Arguments Against "Secularization."—Neophytes the Real Owners.—Plenty of Land Outside the Missions. . . 212

CHAPTER XX.

Figueroa Changes His Mind.—Echeandia's Decree.—Bancroft's Judgment.—View of Mexican Government.—Alaman's Amazement.—Law of September 13, 1813.—Figueroa's Instructions.—Failure of Emancipation.—What Might Have Been Successful.—Mariano Vallejo's Ridiculous Effusion.—His Own Brutality.—Figueroa Issues Decree of Confiscation.—Effects.—Bancroft.—Fr. Duran's Revelation.—Hittéll.—Nativist Rule and Consequences. . 224

CHAPTER XXI.

Mission Confiscated.—Mayordomos.—Impertinence of the Commissioners.—Fr. Garcia Diego Protests.—Quarrel Between Commissioners.—Church Property Not Respected.—The Inventory.—The Valuation.—Church and Vestry—Hittéll on the Transfer of the Property.—Indians Helpless.—Del Valle's Tirade.—Inspector Hartnell.—What He Learned.—Mofras's Description.—Wealth of the Mission.—The End. 236

Page

CHAPTER XXII.

Object of the Missionaries.—Character of the Indians.—Method Adopted.—First Steps.—The Girls' Apartment.—Marriages and How Brought About.—The Catechetical Instructions.—The Doctrina.—Fr. Font's Observations.—Obstacles.—Sacrifices Required.—Motives Therefor.—A Christian Communism.—Aids to Understand the Doctrines.—Daily Routine.—The Children.—Sundays and Holydays. 249

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Baptismal Register.—First Entries.—Notable Personages.—Second Book of Baptisms.—Its Introduction.—Numerous Converts.—Method of the Fathers.—An English Convert.—Last Resident Franciscan.—A Yankee Convert.—Bishop Garcia Diego's Auto-de-Visita. — Last Franciscans. — Tabular Report. — Royal Orders. 261

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Marriage Register.—First Entries.—Casados y Velados.—The Register of Confirmations.—Fathers Serra and Lasuen.—The Burial Register.—The First Entries.—Transfer of Commander Moraga's Body.—A Faithful Servant.—Epidemic of Smallpox.—A Notable Entry.—Burial of Leidesdorff.—Tabular Reports on Material Results. 273

CHAPTER XXV.

A Bishop Proposed for California.—Fr. Garcia Diego Proceeds to Mexico.—He Is Himself Chosen First Bishop of the Californias.—Consecrated at Guadalupe, Mexico.—San Diego the Seat of the Bishop.—The Place Not Suitable.—Goes to Santa Barbara.—His Clergy.—Opens Small Seminary.—Grant of Land for Its Support.—Confirmation Tour.—At Santa Clara.—The Bishop Fails to Visit San Francisco.—The Reason.—Fr. Mercado's Last Report.—The Bishop's Lament.—What He Feared from Vallejo.—Don Mariano's Contemptible Language and Conduct.—Refuses to Contribute to Support of Bishop Diego.—First Resident Secular Priest at Dolores.—Vallejo's Last. 285

Page

CHAPTER XXVI.

Paisano Usurpation.—Illegal Action of the Assembly.—Repudiated by the Missionaries and the Bishop.—First Secular Priest.—Obstacles.—Yerba Buena.—Its Beginnings.—Richardson and Leese Founders and First Settlers.—Stars and Stripes Raised.—First Magistrate.—Mormon Immigrants.—First Newspaper.—Yerba Buena Changed to San Francisco.—Vallejo Disappointed.—First School.—First Non-Catholic Services.—Leidesdorff's Offer.—Inhabitants in 1842 and 1847.—Discovery of Gold.—Effects.—Governor Mason's Description.—Newspapers Suspended.—Situation Later.—Population at Close of 1849. 297

CHAPTER XXVII.

Remnant of Mission Property Coveted.—Use Granted Provisionally.—Gov. Micheltorena and U. S. Authorities in Agreement.—Gov. Mason's Instructions.—Historical Documents Collected.—Mission Occupied.—Unwelcome Guests.—Gerstaecker's Description.—Punishing Judas.—Last of the Neophytes.—A Pretty Custom.—Father Santillan Disheartened.—The Administrator Endeavors to Secure Priests.—Those Who Came.—Very Rev. J. Brouillet and Rev. A. Langlois.—First Holy Mass at Yerba Buena.—The Church.—Father Langlois's Description. 312

CHAPTER XXVIII

Jesuit Fathers Arrive.—Very Rev. J. Brouillet Departs.—Jesuits Welcomed by the Very Rev. Administrator.—Arrival of Secular Priests and Picpus Fathers.—Rev. A. Langlois Appointed Vicar Forane.—Takes Oath.—New Pastors at Dolores.—Rt. Rev. J. S. Alemany, O. P., Appointed Bishop of Monterey.—His Letter to Fr. Anderson.—Fr. González Rúbio Declines a Bishopric.—Bishop Alemany Appears Unexpectedly.—Public Sentiment.—The Cordial Reception.—Addresses. 326

CHAPTER XXIX.

Bishop Alemany's Movements.—At Santa Barbara.—At Monterey.—First Pastoral.—First Diocesan Synod.—Resolutions.—Appoints Vicars-General.—At the First Plenary Council, Baltimore.—In the City of Mexico.—Pious Fund.—Mexico Must Pay Interest in Perpetuity.—Lower California Detached.—Claims Before the Land Commission.—Its Decision.—U. S. Patent to Church Property.—A Great Wrong Righted. 338

Page

CHAPTER XXX.

The Road to Mission Dolores.—The Church.—How It Impressed a Visitor. — The City's Resort. — Historical Inaccuracies. — First Orphanage in California.—St. Patrick's Parish Founded.—Sisters of Charity Take Charge of the Orphans.—Sisters of St. Dominic and of Notre Dame Arrive.—Rev. Eugene O'Connell at Mission Dolores.—First German Priest.—Father Fontaine's School at the Mission.—He Establishes a Boarding School Elsewhere and Fails.—The Jesuit Fathers Assume the Burden.—How They Fared.—The School Closed.—The Diocesan Seminary.—Rt. Rev. Eugene O'Connell, Bishop. 350

CHAPTER XXXI.

San Francisco an Archdiocese.—The First Archbishop.—His Letter to Fr. Gonzáles Rúbio.—Cornerstone Laid for St. Mary's Cathedral.—Sisters Enlisted in Ireland.—The Presentation Sisters Arrive.—The Sisters of Mercy Attacked and Defended.—Silly Bigotry.—Second Ecclesiastical Synod.—The Decrees.—Know-Nothing Times.—The Hibernians Parade.—List of Franciscan and Other Priests in the History of Mission Dolores. 361

CHAPTER XXXII.

Biographical Sketches.—Fr. Francisco Palóu.—Fr. Pedro Cambon.—Fr. Antonio Danti.—Fr. José de la Cruz Espí.—Fr. Diego Garcia.—Fr. José Maria Fernandez.—Fr. Juan Sainz de Lúcio.—Rev. José P. Santillan. 373

APPENDIX

Page

A.—Saint Francis of Assisi. 385
B.—El Puerto de San Francisco. 397
C.—Maria de la Concepcion Marcela Arguello. 401
D.—El Diario del Padre Ramon Abella. 405
E.—James Ohio Pattie's Vaccination Story. 407
F.—Rancherias and Tribes Mentioned in the Registers. . . 410
G.—La Laguna de los Dolores. 411
H.—The Return of the Franciscans. 415
I.—The Missions of California. 418

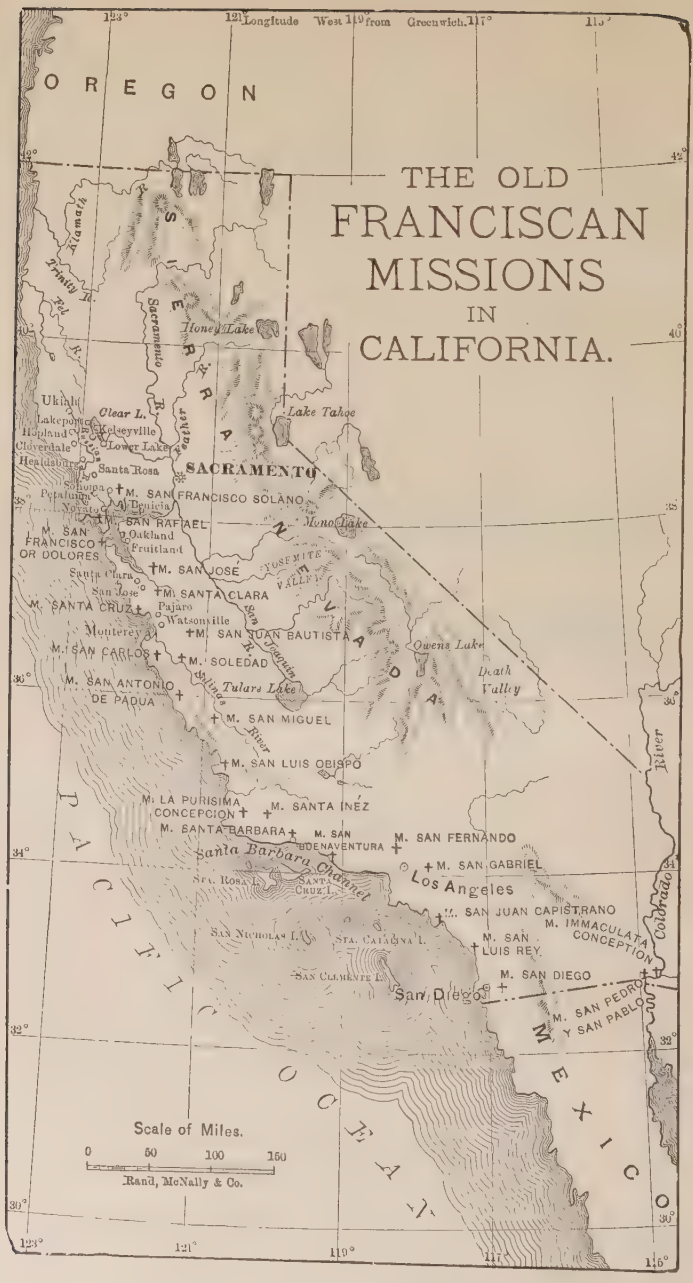
ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

Cover Design by Edward Borein, Santa Barbara, Cal. . .
His Grace, Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, D. D., Archbishop of San Francisco. . . . . Frontispiece
The Franciscan Missions in California. Map. 2
Discovery of Old San Francisco (Cermeño) Bay. Original Drawing by Arthur B. Dodge, Los Angeles. 10
Signature of Gaspár de Portolá. 14
Fr. Junípero Serra, Founder of the California Missions. . . 25
The Alabado, Spanish Hymn. Music. 33
Fr. Font's Drawing of the Site of Alameda. Facsimile. . . 42
Ground Plan of the Presidio According to Bancroft . . . 50
Title Page of the Baptismal Register. Facsimile. . . . 65
Signature of Fr. Junípero Serra. 72
Mission Dolores. Etching by Ed. Borein, Santa Barbara, Cal. . 87
Record of Cornerstone-Laying. Facsimile. 101
First Annual Report on the Missions. Facsimile. . . . 105
Burial Entry for José J. Moraga. Facsimile. Original Size. . 111
Record of Transfer of Moraga's Remains. Facsimile. Original Size 119
Plan of Fort San Joaquin according to Bancroft. . . . 122
Dolores Mission. Earliest Engraving from Forbes *California*. . 128
The Peninsula of San Francisco according to Dwinelle. . . 135
Side Altar. St. Joseph's. Courtesy of C. B. Turrill, San Francisco. 146
Side Altar. St. Anthony's. Courtesy of Charles B. Turrill. . . 158
Dolores Locality. Zoeth S. Eldredge's *Beginnings of San Francisco*. 168
Mission Dolores. Etching by Henry C. Ford. 179
Cattle Brand and Earmarks. 188
Plat of Dolores Property. U. S. Land Office. 191
Monument of Luis A. Argüello. Courtesy of Prof. Rexford Newcomb. 197
Dolores at Present. Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco, 1915. 207
San Francisco Mission District. Map from Bancroft's *California*. 219
San Francisco and Vicinity. Chamber of Commerce, San Francisco. 231
Construction of the Dolores Roof. Charles B. Turrill. . . . 243
Main Altar at Dolores. C. B. Turrill. 255
First Entry in the Baptismal Register. Facsimile. . . . 263
Table of the Spiritual Results at Dolores. 270
St. Michael, Archangel. 272
Title Page of the Marriage Register. Facsimile. 275
Title Page of the Burial Register. Facsimile. 279
Table on Live Stock at Dolores. 283

Page
Table on the Agricultural Products. 284
Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego and His Signature. . . . 286
Seal of Bishop Garcia Diego. 293
Jacob Primer Leese. From The *Hesperian*. 298
San Francisco in 1847. Courtesy of Hon. Grant Jackson, Los Angeles. 303
First Public School in San Francisco. *The San Francisco Annals.* 307
Miners Digging and Washing Gold. Hon. Grant Jackson. . . 309
San Francisco in 1849. Courtesy of Hon. Grant Jackson. . . 313
Judas Chastised. By Osiano Day, Golden Gate Park Museum. . 319
First Catholic Church in San Francisco (Yerba Buena). *S. Fr. Annals.* 324
Very Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet. Courtesy The Catholic Indian Bureau. 327
Signature of Rev. Anthony Langlois. 333
Very Rev. Fr. Gonzalez Rubio. Painting in Santa Barbara Mission. 341
Insert. Plat of Mission Dolores from U. S. Land Office. . . 348
Signature of President James Buchanan. Facsimile. . . . 349
Surroundings of Dolores. First Half Century, St. Ignatius College. 353
Most Rev. Archbishop Joseph Sadov Alemany, O. P., D. D. . . 363
Fr. Francisco Palóu, Founder of Dolores, and Signature. . . 375
Signature of Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon. 379
Signature of Fr. Antonio Danti. 381
Signature of Fr. José de la Cruz Espi. 382
Signature of Fr. Juan Sainz de Lucio. 383
Franciscan Coat of Arms. 384
St. Francis of Assisi, Patron of San Francisco Mission and Port. 386
St. Francis and His Pet 391
St. Francis at the Christmas Midnight Mass. 395
Map of the Three Bays' District. Bancroft. 399
La Pérouse's Map of the Port of San Francisco. 413
Most Rev. Archbishop Patrick W. Riordan, D. D. . . . 417

FOURTH MILITARY DISTRICT
III
SAN FRANCISCO MISSION
(1776-1858)


THE OLD
FRANCISCAN
MISSIONS
IN
CALIFORNIA.
Longitude West from Greenwich.
OREGON
SIERRA NEVADA
Klamath R.
Trinity R.
Sacramento R.
Pitt R.
Honey Lake
Clear L.
Lake Tahoe
Ukiah
Lakeport
Clearlake
Healdsburg
Cloverdale
Geyserville
Lower Lake
Santa Rosa
Sonoma
Petaluma
Novato
SACRAMENTO
M. SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO
Benicia
SAN RAFAEL
Mono Lake
M. SAN FRANCISCO OR DOLORES
Oakland
Fruitland
M. SAN JOSE
YOSEMITE VALLEY
Santa Clara
San Jose
M. SANTA CLARA
M. SANTA CRUZ
Pajaro
Watsonville
Monterey
M. SAN JUAN BAUTISTA
Owens Lake
M. SAN CARLOS
M. SOLEDAD
Death Valley
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San Joaquin R.
Tulare Lake
Kings River
M. SAN MIGUEL
M. SAN LUIS OBISPO
Colorado River
M. LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION
M. SANTA INÉZ
M. SANTA BARBARA
M. SAN BUENAVENTURA
M. SAN FERNANDO
Santa Barbara Channel
M. SAN GABRIEL
Los Angeles
Sta. Rosa I.
Santa Cruz I.
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San Nicholas I.
Sta. Catalina I.
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CHAPTER I

San Francisco Bay.—Captain Sebastian Cermeño Suffers Shipwreck.—Expedition in Search of Monterey Bay.—Not Recognized.—A Mystery.—Council Decides to Continue Search.—At Point San Pedro.—A Surprise.—San Francisco Bay.—Recognized.—"Arm of the Sea."—Sergeant Ortega the Discoverer.—More Futile Searches.—Return March Ordered.—At Monterey Bay.—Missed Again.—At San Diego.

DIVINE PROVIDENCE itself appears to have singled out the region around the great inland harbor of northern California for the scene of Indian missionary activity under the patronage of the Seraphic St. Francis. At all events, the historical account of the discovery of San Francisco Bay reads stranger than fiction. Let us hear the earliest historian on the subject. "When, late in 1768, the venerable Fr. Junípero Serra," writes Fr. Francisco Palóu, O. F. M., "consulted the Inspector General, Don José de Galvez, on the first three Missions which Galvez had directed him to establish in Upper California, and observed the names of the patron saints that were to be assigned, he said to him: 'Is there then to be no Mission for our Father San Francisco?' Don José de Galvez, replied: 'If San Francisco wants a Mission, let him cause his port to be discovered, and it will be placed there.' The expedition went up; it reached the port of Monterey (which it had been sent to discover); it halted and planted a cross there, yet not one of those who went along recognized it, although they made out all the landmarks in the history. They continued forty leagues farther; came to the Port of San Francisco, our Father; and at once all recognized it from the conformity with the description which they had brought along. In view of this what else must we say than that our holy Father wanted a Mission at this port."[1]

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[1] Palóu, *Vida del P. Serra,* cap. xviii, p. 88-89.

The Port of San Francisco, to which Galvez referred, was not the famous bay know the world over by that name, but a small body of water a little north of the Golden Gate, discovered in consequence of explorations made under royal orders as early as 1595. "His Majesty," writes Fr. Juan Torquemada,[2] "had been informed that ships sailing from China (Philippine Islands) to Mexico ran great risks, especially near Cape Mendocino, where the storms are most violent, and that it would be advantageous to have that coast surveyed thence to Acapulco, so that the ships, most of which belong to His Majesty, should find places for relief and refreshment." The King of Spain therefore directed Viceroy Velasco of Mexico to have the coast on the route to and from the Philippine Islands explored. Velasco accordingly took the requisite measures, and under date of April 6, 1594, reported to the king: "I have ordered the navigator, who at present sails in the flagship, and who is named Sebastian Rodríguez Cermeñon,[3] a man of experience in his calling, and who has means of his own, although he is a Portuguese, there being no Spaniard of his profession available, that he should make the exploration and demarcation; and I offered to compensate him by allowing him to take merchandise on board; and I wrote to the governor of the Philippines that he should allow him to put aboard the ship some tons of cloth, in order that he might have the benefit of the freight-money; and I caused him to be given all that might be needed for the purpose."[4]

Captain Cermeño, in his ship, the *San Agustin,* sailed from Manila on July 5, 1595. Taking the usual course northward along the coast of Asia, he crossed the Pacific in about the latitude of Eureka, and first sighted the California shore on November 4. From there he continued southward until, on November 6, he reached the point of land later called *Punta*

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[2] *Monarquia Indiana,* part i, cap. xlv, 694.

[3] *Cermenho in Portuguese.* Fr. Torquemada writes it Cermeñon.

[4] *Sutro Collection,* vol. ii, part i, 16-19, Los Angeles, 1691. See also *The Missions and Missionaries of California,* vol. i, 33.

de los Reyes. Rounding this, he cast anchor in the little bay and named it for Saint Francis of Assisi *Bahia de San Francisco.* Here the navigator built a small vessel in which he intended to make a close survey of the coast downward, as ordered by the king. It was well he did so, for when it was nearly completed, the *San Agustin,* on November 30, was driven on shore and wrecked with the result that an Augustinian friar and another passenger were drowned, and most of the cargo and all the provisions were lost. After obtaining a quantity of acorns and some other provisions from the Indians, Cermeño with his seventy men embarked in the launch which had been constructed, and which he named *San Buenaventura,* and on December 6, 1595, began the perilous voyage for Mexico. Some cloth and silks saved from the wrecked ship were crowded into the vessel to barter them for food along the coast. Meanwhile the captain persisted in making surveys, despite the lack of provisions and water. Finally all reached Navidad on January 6, 1596. Here Cermeño with sixty men went ashore in order to proceed to the Capital, while Juan de Morgana with ten men in the launch continued to the port of Acapulco, which they entered on January 31, 1596.[5] Thereafter the little bay behind Point Reyes was designated on all maps and charts as the Port of San Francisco. Of the great inland lake, now called San Francisco Bay, nothing was known to the world till one hundred and seventy-three years later.

The fear of Russian encroachments on the northwest coast of America at last determined the Spanish Government to occupy the ports of San Diego and Monterey, which had been entered and named in November and December, 1602, by Captain Sebastian Vizcáino. For this purpose Don José de Galvez was directed to proceed to Lower California, and to equip the necessary expeditions for the rediscovery and pro-

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[5] *Sutro Collection,* ii, 18-20; *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Austin, Texas, January, 1920; *Monarquia Indiana,* i, 717-718; *The Missions,* vol. i, 34-35.

tection of both harbors. At the same time it was resolved to convert the natives to Christianity as the best means to insure their pacific subjection to Spanish rule. Missions were accordingly planned for both ports, and one for a suitable locality between the two. The names to be applied were San Diego, San Carlos, and San Buenaventura. It was when Fr. Serra saw this list of titular saints that he approached Don José, and in turn received the curt reply noted at the beginning of this chapter.

Two expeditions by land and two by sea eventually reached San Diego Bay in 1769. The next object was to find Monterey Bay. For this purpose Captain Gaspár de Portolá, who, accompanied by Fr. Junípero Serra, had led the second land expedition from Lower California to San Diego, set out from this port on July 14, 1769. With him went the two Franciscans Fr. Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomez, Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada in command of twenty-seven so-called leather-jacket soldiers, Lieutenant Pedro Fages with seven Catalonian volunteers, Engineer Miguel Costanzó, Sergeant José Francisco Ortega, four neophyte servants, seven muleteers in charge of the pack-train, and fifteen neophyte Indians from Lower California, in all sixty-seven persons. As their guide the expedition had a copy of José Gonzalez Cabrera Bueno's *Navegacion,* printed at the Franciscan Monastery, Manila, in 1734. Although the author described the coast accurately enough, his statements concerning the latitude of the various landmarks, owing to the defective instruments used for observations, were inexact.

After more than two months of wearisome marching, the expedition, on October first, without being aware of it, camped within a league and a half of the goal, not far from the present town of Castroville. "Shortly after," Fr. Crespi in his journal writes, "the commander, the engineer, and myself, accompanied by five soldiers, went to survey the shore. We ascended a little hill,[6] and from the summit we beheld a great

[6] Mulligan Hill which overlooks the bay from the east.

roadstead or open bay, and we conjectured that it was the one which Cabrera Bueno puts between Point Año Nuevo and Point Pinos de Monterey, for we saw the latter covered with tall pines, so that near it must be found the port of Monterey."[7] Portolá and his company moved the camp across the Salinas River, and for six days the Spaniards surveyed the coast from Carmelo River to the northern end of the bay, with the result that some thought the bay, which Vizcáino had discovered and named Monterey, must have filled up with drifting sands, whilst others believed that the expedition had not yet reached the latitude in which Cabrera Bueno and Vizcáino located the port.

"It is," writes Bancroft, "and must ever remain more or less inexplicable that the Spaniards should have failed at this time to identify Monterey (Bay). All that was known of that port had resulted from Vizcáino's visit, and this knowledge was in the hands of the explorers in the works of Venégas and Cabrera Bueno. The description of the landmarks was tolerably clear, and in fact these landmarks had been readily recognized by Portolá's party at their first arrival on the bay shore. Moreover, the advantages of the harbor had not been greatly exaggerated, both Torquemada, as quoted by Venégas, and Cabrera Bueno having called Monterey simply a *famoso puerto,* the former stating that it was protected from all winds, and the latter from all except the northwest winds. Yet with the harbor lying at their feet and with several landmarks so clearly defined that Vila and Serra recognized them at once from the reports at San Diego, and penetrated the truth of the matter in spite of their companions' mystification, the Spanish officers could find nothing resembling the object of their search, and even were tempted to account for the port's disappearance by the theory that since Vizcáino's time it had perhaps been filled up with sand."[8]

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[7] "That is to say," as Bancroft remarks, "believing yet doubting they look out over the bay and harbor of Monterey, then pass on wondering where is Monterey."—*California,* i, 150.

[8] *California,* i, 152.

In this extremity Portolá called a council of the officers and the two Franciscans for October 4th. In his Diário Fr. Crespi reports the results as follows: "This is a grand day for all the children of St. Francis, whose feast we his two sons celebrate in this corner of the world without any other church or choir than a desert, we having constructed a brush-wood shelter for the celebration of the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which each of us offered up with as much devotion as possible, praying the Holy Spirit through the intercession of our seraphic Father to enlighten the officers so that they might determine what is conducive to the greater honor and glory of our king.

"Holy Mass concluded, the commander called the officers, and when all had assembled in the name of God, he laid before them the lack of provisions, the many sick we had (who were seventeen men, half crippled and in no condition for hardship), the distance already traveled, all that the men still able suffered from the excessive burden of guarding the stock at night, having to perform sentinel duties, and continually making explorations and surveys. In view of what had been said, and that the port of Monterey had not been found in the latitude in which it was supposed to be, he wished each one to give his opinion freely, in order to determine what might be judged most expedient. All the officers unanimously voted that the journey should be continued as the only expedient that remained, in the hope with the favor of God of reaching the desired port of Monterey, and to find in it the packetboat *San José,* which would relieve all necessities; and that, if God should permit that in search of Monterey all perished, we shall have complied with our duty to God and to men, while working together till death for the success of the enterprise entrusted to us. With this all agreed, and all determined to continue the journey. We two religious also attended this council, and we voted the same way. We also endeavored to encourage all and to persuade them that the help of the Lord would not fail us, as we were under the supposition that the undertaking had in view His greater honor and His desire for the conversion of all souls."

On Saturday, October 7, 1769, the march was accordingly resumed. Amid indescribable hardships and privations the expedition on October 30 reached a point of land on the ocean shore which Fr. Crespi christened Punta del Angel Custodio, or Angel de Guarda. Here the famished men feasted on clams, for which reason they named it Point Almejas. Without suspecting it, the Spaniards were approaching a startling discovery. "Tuesday, October 31st," Fr. Crespi writes, "lofty hills impeded our progress along the beach. Though the ascent of the hills is not difficult, the descent on every side is arduous. Sergeant Ortega with some men, therefore, started out early in the morning to make a road down the declivity. We then began the march at about ten in the morning. When we reached the summit, we beheld a grand bay formed by a point of land which runs far out into the ocean and appears to be an island. Moreover, toward the west-northwest, from our point of vision, but somewhat to the southwest of the aforesaid point, six or seven white farallones, or rocky islets, are observed. Following the shore of the bay on the north some white cliffs are distinguished, and turning to the northeast the mouth of an estuary, which seems to enter the land, is seen.[9] At sight of these landmarks, to which the description of Pilot Cabrera Bueno refers, we came to recognize this port. It is that of our Father San Francisco.[10] We have therefore left the port of Monterey behind. With these convictions we descended the hill, and pitched our camp in the center of a little valley which is about six hundred yards long and one hundred yards wide. Two small arroyos, which unite to run into the ocean, furnished enough water.

"A short distance from our camp we found a rancheria of very gentle Indians, who visited us immediately after our arrival, and brought us some *tamales* made of black seeds. Judging from the fires which we observed along the shore,

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[9] The Golden Gate.

[10] The one so named by Cermeño, but which is now called Drake's Bay. See Appendix B, this volume.

DISCOVERY OF OLD SAN FRANCISCO BAY, OCTOBER 31, 1769

the coast must be well covered with rancherias. From this beach we could see that the farallones extend from west to southwest, and that the point which I believe to be Point Reyes, forms the bay and bounds it on the north and northwest. All the landmarks which we find here are noted in the description of Pilot Cabrera Bueno, so that we may conclude that this is the port of San Francisco. The latitude in which we find ourselves, which is 37½ degrees, confirms our belief; for, though the said author places the port in 38½ degrees, we have found that his figures are generally from one to one and one-half degrees too high. Hence it is not strange that this harbor, found in 37½ degrees, should be that of our Father San Francisco."

"St. Francis had indeed brought the Spaniards within sight of his port," writes Bancroft, "but his mission was not to be there; and some years later, when the Spaniards found they could not go to San Francisco, they decided that San Francisco must come to them, and accordingly transferred the name southward to the peninsula and bay."[11]

Some of the explorers still expressed doubt that Monterey Bay had been passed, or that the Port of San Francisco had been discovered. Portolá, therefore, directed Sergeant Ortega to proceed to survey the bay below Point Reyes, and to report in three days. Next day, the Feast of All Saints, after Fr. Crespi and Fr. Gomez had celebrated Holy Mass in the camp at Point San Pedro or Angel Custodio, Ortega with a squad of soldiers went forth on his errand. Going north and then ascending the mountain ridge to the east, he must soon have come in sight of the Golden Gate as well as of the great bay which they called an "arm of the sea," but which is now known the world over as San Francisco Bay. Ortega and his companions must therefore be regarded as the first white men who viewed that body of water.

Next day, All Souls Day, November 2nd, some of the soldiers set out from the main camp to hunt for deer. In the

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[11] *California,* vol. i, 152.

evening they returned with the news that toward the north and east they had observed an immense arm of the sea, which extended into the land southeastward as far as the eye could reach. "This report," Fr. Crespi says in his Diário, "confirmed us in the opinion that we were at the port of our Father San Francisco,[12] and that what they reported was doubtless the estuary described by Cabrera Bueno, the outlet [13] of which we had not seen in coming down to the shore because of the intervening cliff."[14] Late in the afternoon of November 3rd, Ortega with his companions returned and explained how he had found it impossible to cross or go around the great estuary, but that he had understood some Indians to say that far down the arm of the sea a ship lay at anchor. It was then decided to go in search of this vessel, as it might be the long-expected *San José*.

Before starting out on November 4th, the two Fathers celebrated Holy Mass in honor of St. Charles, the patron saint of the king, and then the whole company marched along the beach southward for the San Bruno Hills. "From the top of a hill," Fr. Crespi relates, "we beheld the grand estuary or arm of the sea, which is probably four or five leagues wide and extends toward the south-southeast.[15] Turing our back upon the bay,[16] and keeping it always to the left of us, we proceeded southward down a cañada for three hours, and then pitched our camp at the foot of the sierra. All assisted at Holy Mass on Sunday 5th, and thereafter we traveled four

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[12] The grand roadstead, which extends from Point Reyes to Point San Pedro and westward as far as the Farallones, twenty-five miles from the mainland, from its proximity to the San Francisco Bay under Point Reyes, was often called San Francisco Bay, or Farallones Bay.

[13] Golden Gate, first so designated on John C. Fremont's map of Oregon and California, published in Washington in 1848.

[14] See *The Missions,* vol. ii, 660-662, for description of the coast.

[15] Portolá with the officers and the two friars for the first time sighted the famous bay on the fourth day after the discovery by Ortega.

[16] *Bahia.* Fr. Crespi here designates the arm of the sea for the first time.

and half hours to the next camping-place close by a lagoon.[17] Large herds of deer, tracks of bears, and innumerable geese were observed; but all this game eluded the aim of the famished hunters, who were glad enough to satisfy their hunger with wild strawberries. Small quantities of black seeds and crushed acorns secured from the Indians in return for the coveted beads also afforded some little relief. Next day the march continued for three leagues and a half to the end of the cañada which Fr. Crespi named in honor of St. Francis, but which Bancroft identifies with San Andrés and San Raimundo Valley. Here the Spaniards went into camp on a stream which flowed into the oft-mentioned "arm of the sea," and which Bancroft thinks is San Francisco Creek in the vicinity of Searsville.

Portolá now directed Ortega and eight men to go in search of the ship. They were allowed rations for four days. Guided by a few pagan Indians, Ortega set out on November 7th. Meanwhile hunger drove the soldiers in the camp to feed on acorns, in consequence of which they suffered from indigestion and fevers. "On the night of the 10th," Fr. Crespi says, "the explorers returned quite disheartened and convinced that they had misunderstood the Indians. They reported the whole country to the north impassable on account of the lack of pastures and the ferocity of the savages who tried to impede the march. They related, furthermore, that they had seen an other estuary of the same size as the one we had in sight of us, and with which it was connected,[18] and that to go around it would require many leagues to travel."

Next day, after Holy Mass to the Holy Ghost, a council was held in Portolá's tent. All gave it as their opinion that they must go back to Point Pinos in order to find the port of Monterey. In the afternoon, therefore, the expedition began the return march up the Cañada de San Francisco, recrossed

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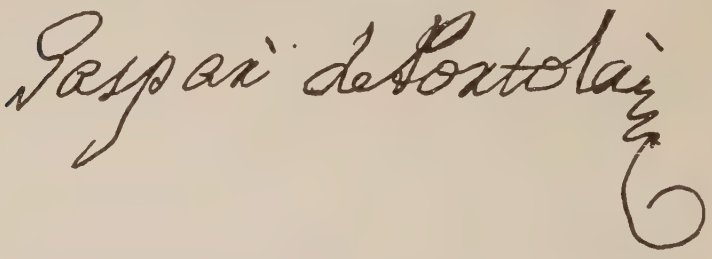
[17] Laguna Grande on San Mateo Creek, Bancroft thinks.

[18] San Pablo Bay. They must have reached Oakland or Berkeley sites.

the San Bruno Hills, and on the 14th of November rested at Point Angel Custodio. Here the famished wanderers could again feast on clams which abounded, and two days later, farther down the route, the soldiers were fortunate enough to kill twenty-two wild geese. Later they killed more, which caused Fr. Crespi to exclaim: "Blessed be the Divine Providence for deigning to aid us poor, lonely wanderers in our extreme need." On November 28th the expedition camped at Carmelo Bay, and remained there till December 10th, but again without recognizing the bay which they sought.



Portolá succeeded in taking his expedition back to San Diego without the loss of a man, although some mules had to be slaughtered to sustain the life of the soldiers. The whole company reached their southern destination on Wednesday, January 24, 1770, six months after starting out from there in search of Monterey Bay. The commander, however, felt so disheartened that he determined to abandon California on March 20th, if by that time no supply ship arrived. What happened in consequence the reader will find related in detail by consulting our volume on *San Diego Mission.*

CHAPTER II

Expedition in Search of San Francisco Bay.—The Route.—At Alameda, Berkeley, San Pablo Bay.—Carquinez Strait.—San Francisco River, Now San Joaquin River.—Return March.—Another Expedition.—The Route.—Indians.—San Francisquito Creek.—Raising of a Cross.—Lake Merced.—Point Lobos.—The Golden Gate.—First Cross Planted.

MONTEREY BAY was at last discovered by land and by sea toward the end of May, 1770. In obedience to Inspector Galvez's instructions, Portolá, then at Monterey, turned over the military command of California to Lieutenant Pedro Fages, and on July 9, 1770, sailed away for Mexico. On November 12th of the same year, Viceroy Carlos Francisco de Croix directed the new military commander to explore the Port of San Francisco, and in accord with Fr. Presidente Serra to establish a Mission there lest that important place remain exposed to foreign occupation. Fages received his instructions in May, 1771, but postponed action. When, however, toward the end of 1771, Fr. Serra suggested a survey of the Port of San Francisco in order to discover a suitable site for the Mission, Fages readily agreed, and even offered to head the expedition himself provided that Fr. Crespi joined him in the search. Rains prevented operations till the month of March, 1772. Both Fages and Fr. Crespi kept a journal of the march.

"With the help of God," Fr. Crespi begins his account, "we set out from the royal presidio of San Carlos de Monterey at about half past ten in the morning of Friday, March 20, 1772. Captain Pedro Fages and I were determined to go and survey the port of our Father San Francisco for the purpose of finding the most suitable site for the Mission which was to be founded there. We were accompanied by twelve soldiers, six of whom were Catalonian volunteers, and six belonged to the

leather-jacket soldiers, one muleteer, and one Lower California Indian in charge of the pack mules.[1]

The explorers proceeded along the foothills east of Castroville, camped on the Arroyo de San Benito in the vicinity of Hollister site, passed not far from what is Gilroy, through the Santa Clara Valley, until they reached the vicinity of Los Robles del Puerto de San Francisco, where Portola had rested on November 7, 1769, according to Bancroft. Here they changed their course from northwest to north-northeast, and on March 25th halted near an arroyo which Fr. Crespi for the feast of the day named Encarnacion, and which appears to be identical with Penitencia Creek. The camp was about parallel with the head of the estuary or "arm of the sea," that is to say the present San Francisco Bay.

As the peninsula to the left had already been explored, and the object was to pass round the "arm of the sea" in order to reach Old San Francisco Bay under Point Reyes, Fages and his following turned to the right, going along the foothills. Fr. Crespi, on March 25th, the Feast of the Annunciation, celebrated Holy Mass very early. The day's journey lasted about seven hours, during which the expedition covered about eight leagues, and then camped about three leagues from the great estuary or "arm of the sea," on the banks of a stream which Fr. Crespi christened San Salvador de Horta, and which appears to be Alameda Creek. Following the course of the valley and of the "sea arm" on Thursday, March 26th, for a distance of four leagues, during which they crossed San Lorenzo and San Leandro creeks, the explorers stopped on an arroyo which Fr. Crespi noted as El Arroyo del Bosque. This stream is a branch of the bay and with another arroyo forms a peninsula covered with oak trees. They had arrived at the site of Alameda. Fr. Crespi took the latitude "about three leagues from the parallel of the mouth (Golden Gate)

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[1] Fages has fourteen soldiers and one Christian Indian servant of Fr. Crespi. (*Archivo General de Mexico*, 66.)

to the Bay of the Farallones," and found it to be thirty-seven degrees and fifty-four minutes.

Continuing on Friday, March 27th, the expedition was compelled to turn towards the northeast in order to pass around an estuary, and then crossed low hills for a league and a half. Here they had reached East Oakland. After advancing three leagues more, the travelers came upon an immense plain and stopped at a place where they could look through the outlet to the sea, hence at Berkeley. Neither on this nor on the preceding day had any Indians been seen; but, remarks Fr. Crespi, "during the two days' journey we were very much plagued by mosquitoes, which tormented us much more than at San Blas they pester the inhabitants of that beautiful port."

On Saturday the Spaniards made five leagues over a hilly region, and descended to the banks of a deep arroyo. Here they encountered a large rancheria of light-complexioned and bearded Indians from whom they received every attention which was returned with gifts of glass beads. On the same day, March 28th, a "round bay like a lake" eight leagues in extent, was discovered. Four whales were observed. From this the explorers concluded that there must be sufficient depth, and therefore room enough "for all the ships of Spain." They had evidently come in sight of San Pablo Bay.

"After Holy Mass on Sunday, March 29th," Fr. Crespi relates, "we ascended the heights on the bay or great lake, and turned round it for the purpose of passing on to the sierra in the north so as to reach Point Reyes, near which we judged the real port (of San Francisco) to be; for we thought that in said lake the second estuary or arm of the sea terminated. Such was not the case, however; for toward the sierra we saw that the estuary continued, although not any more so wide, but in a bed of a quarter of a league, and in parts even less.[2]

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[2] Carquinez Strait, for the first time visited by white men.

This prevented us from reaching Point Reyes. We went farther up and followed its course along the low hills. We then observed that the lowlands on the other side (of the strait) appeared to extend to the sierra on the north, which I named Sierra de Nuestro Padre San Francisco, as I supposed it to be the protection of his port.[3] After having traveled six hours, during which we must have covered about ten leagues, we reached a cañon traversed by an arroyo[4] which discharged its water into the estuary along which we were marching. Not far from here we tasted the water and found it sweet."

On Monday, March 30th, the expedition journeyed two leagues and, after crossing a deep arroyo of running water, probably the Arroyo de las Nueces near Pacheco, a beautiful plain was entered. It was about a league in every direction, and Fr. Crespi christened it Santa Angela de Foligno. As on the preceding day, many Indians were seen who proved themselves very hospitable. Leaving the plain, the explorers went up a pass in the hills,[5] and from its highest point saw that the land below was a great level country as far as the eye could see. Fr. Crespi at some length describes two wide rivers, channels, island, and sloughs. "Having observed all this," he writes, "we descended the pass and concluded our day's journey, which had covered ten leagues. We camped on the bank of a small arroyo of somewhat brackish water, about a quarter of a league from one of the great rivers. A league before we halted, at midday, I took the latitude and found it to be thirty-nine degrees and thirteen minutes. I gave this river the name of our Father San Francisco so that he might intercede with the Divine Majesty that this whole pagandom

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[3] That is to say, Old San Francisco Bay under Point Reyes. The present San Francisco Bay, as yet, was nothing more to them than an "arm of the sea."

[4] Arroyo del Hambre near Martinez, according to Bancroft.

[5] Vicinity of Willow Pass. Ibid.

might be converted; for I doubt not that there are many Indians along the banks of said great river, which seems to be the largest so far discovered in New Spain.[6]

"At this place we determined to return to the presidio of Monterey, in view of the fact that said rivers prevent us from passing on to Point Reyes and survey the Port of our Father San Francisco; for to cross them we have no boats, and to go around them we lack the men and the supplies. According to the route which we have taken, we are seventy-one leagues from Monterey. On returning we shall as much as possible take a more direct road, and explore the country to the interior."

On Tuesday, March 31st, therefore, the expedition recrossed Santa Angela Plain and the range of hills, but then turned southward along a pleasant cañada, probably San Ramon Creek, as Bancroft infers. On April 1st and 2nd the explorers went through what are known as San Ramón and Amador valleys, into Suñol Valley, which Fr. Crespi named Santa Coleta. From there they made their way through a pass to the vicinity of the later Mission San José, and soon found themselves back on their former route. They camped one league beyond the Arroyo de Encarnacion, where they had rested on March 24th, on a stream to which Fr. Crespi applied the name of San Francisco de Paula, somewhere near Milpitas, as Bancroft thinks. On Sunday morning, April 5th, Fr. Crespi celebrated holy Mass in camp on the Arroyo San Benito, at the foot of a high sierra, and in the evening of the same day he received the blessing of Fr. Serra at Mission San Carlos. The expedition had succeeded in shortening the return march by fourteen leagues, for they had traveled only fifty-one leagues.[7]

Captain Fages doubtless reported the unsatisfactory result of the expedition to Viceroy Bucareli. At all events, Bucareli

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[6] The San Joaquin River, on or near the site of Antioch.

[7] Crespi, *Diário* in Palóu's *Noticias,* tom. iii, capp. xxxii-xxxiii. For details, see *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, pp. 87-99.

ordered the new military commander of California, Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, to make a more minute survey of San Francisco Bay, and in accord with Fr. Serra to found a Mission there. In obedience to this command, which was repeated by the viceroy in a letter to Fr. Palóu on May 25th, 1774, the captain set to work selecting his men and the requisite supplies. The expedition finally consisted of the commander, sixteen soldiers and a muleteer, who had charge of the mules laden with provisions for a journey of forty days. By order of Fr. Serra, Fr. Palóu joined the expedition as chaplain with instructions to keep a diary, and to record everything of importance so that a full report could be sent to the viceroy. With a young Indian servant and a boy to serve holy Mass, Fr. Palóu left San Carlos at eleven o'clock in the morning of November 23rd, 1774, and reached the presidio before twelve, which is sufficient evidence that he on this expedition went along on horseback.

The whole party set out from Monterey at half past two in the afternoon, and camped for the night on the Rio Santa Delfina, or Salinas River. On the journey holy Mass was celebrated on Sundays and holidays only, but the Rosary was recited in common every evening. Next morning the march was resumed, and continued very much along the route traced by Captain Fages and Fr. Crespi in March, 1772. One soldier of the former expedition accompanied the troops. On Monday, November 28th, about noon, Captain Rivera pitched camp on the arroyo where Portolá had rested from the 7th to the 11th of November, 1769, and from where Fages and Fr. Crespi had turned to the right in order to reach Point Reyes by going around the "arm of the sea." The place lay in thirty-seven degrees and forty-six minutes latitude.

"At two o'clock in the afternoon," writes Fr. Palóu, "six unarmed Indians visited the camp and stayed till evening. They behaved very gently, had good faces, and most of them wore beards. I made the Sign of the Cross upon them all. They paid good attention to the ceremony which they did not

understand, nor its purpose. I said a few things to them in the language of the Monterey Indians about God and about heaven; but I was not satisfied that they understood me, although, when I spoke to them of other things, they seemed to understand me; and when they spoke I understood many terms, though I noticed that they differed greatly. Inasmuch as this place is very near the estuary which runs into the 'arm of the sea,' and that it possesses everything necessary for a Mission, it appeared good to the commander and to me to mark it with the Standard of the Holy Cross. We constructed it of strong timber, and planted it on the bank of the arroyo near the ford where we camped. We added our good wishes that on the same spot a church might be erected in honor of my Seraphic Father San Francisco,[8] whom I named as my intercessor, in order that His Divine Majesty might grant me to see it in my day, and to see all the numerous pagans that inhabit the surrounding country subject to our holy Faith."

On Wednesday, November 30th, the feast of St. Andrew, the Aspostle, Fr. Palóu celebrated holy Mass before daybreak. The expedition then went up a valley which they named for the saint of the day Cañada de San Andrés, a name which it still bears. The explorers moved out at about seven in the morning, "although," as Fr. Palóu remarks, "the thick fog did not permit me to see the sun in order to ascertain the hour." After traveling two hours and a half, the company ascended high hills, where they found a lagoon[9] which was fed by a short arroyo. Here Captain Rivera determined to rest. Toward the north there was a very lofty hill. Fr. Palóu climbed this elevation with the captain, and from the summit they could see the bay, but owing to another hill they could not obtain a view of the outlet to the sea. Fr. Palóu judged

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[8] It is quite probably, says Bancroft, that from this circumstance the arroyo or creek received the name San Francisquito.

[9] "Fr. Palóu camped by the same lagoon from Nov. 30th, 1774, to Dec. 4th, as Fr. Crespi on Nov. 5th, 1769. Fr. Palóu's lucid description of this place makes it almost impossible to be mistaken." Mr. Victor de Haro, Mayfield, Cal.

the arm of the sea to be twelve to fifteen leagues in length. While he remained in camp on December 1st, Rivera and four soldiers ascended the second hill. They returned on the 2nd and reported that they had seen the mouth, and that it could be reached by way of the ocean shore. Cold and rainy weather confined the men to their camp on the 3rd. On the 4th, a Sunday, Fr. Palóu found himself unable to celebrate holy Mass, as the wind blew so fiercely that he could not keep a candle burning on the altar. Later in the day the expedition moved toward the south, crossed the hills and three arroyos of running water. At eleven o'clock the Spaniards went into camp on the side of a hill at the foot of which ran a stream which formed a lake that extended to the ocean beach, and was called Lake Merced.

An hour later Captain Rivera, Fr. Palóu, and four soldiers went toward the northwest over hills and dales, and with difficulty waded through sand dunes down to the shore. Thence they went northward until, in sight of the famous Seal Rocks, they were stopped by a steep hill, which is identical with Sutro Heights. They ascended, and after a while found themselves on the summit of Point Lobos, and in full view of the Golden Gate or channel to the harbor of San Francisco. Observing that the steep declivity was at the very entrance of the channel, and that no Spaniard or Christian had ever set foot on its summit, Rivera and Fr. Palóu resolved to plant the Standard of the Cross there. It was accordingly constructed of strong round timber, and raised on the spot where it could be seen from the shore. Thereupon the little party returned to the camp. As the rainy season had arrived, Rivera decided to postpone further explorations. Then, taking the road on which Portolá had come in 1769, the expedition turned back and reentered Monterey on the morning of December 13, 1774.[10]

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[10] Fr. Palóu, *Noticias,* tom. iii, 260-315. See *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. ii, 141-144.

In a letter dated May 25, 1774, and addressed to Fr. Palóu, who did not receive it till after his return from the expedition just related, Viceroy Bucareli informed the acting Fr. Presidente that another expedition was preparing to set out for the purpose of surveying the vicinity of San Francisco Bay in order to hold that region securely and to extend the conquest.[11] The founding of Missions there was also contemplated. The details of this memorable move will follow in the next chapter.

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[11] See for particulars *The Missions and Missionaries,* ii, 138-140.

CHAPTER III

Viceroy Bucareli's Orders.—Object of the Expedition.—Two Missions to Be Founded—The *San Carlos* the First Ship to Pass Through the Golden Gate.—Angel Island.—Fr. Santa Maria First Priest on the North Shore.—Captain Ezeta's Expeditions.—Colonel Anza's Land Expedition.—Well Provided.—The Journey.—Erratic Captain Rivera.—An Insolent Sergeant.

FEARFUL lest the Russians, or some other foreign nation might secure a foothold on the northwestern coast of America so far as discovered and claimed by the Spaniards, the Spanish Government made strenuous efforts to place a military establishment and one or two Missions at the Bay of San Francisco. In the very month that witnessed Rivera and Fr. Palóu's survey of the region south of the Golden Gate, Viceroy Bucareli addressed to Fr. Serra a personal letter which clearly discloses deep anxiety for the occupation of the port of San Francisco. "In consideration that the port of San Francisco, when occupied, might serve as a base for subsequent projects," the viceroy says under date of December 15, 1774, "I have resolved that the founding of the fort should take place by assigning twenty-eight men under a lieutenant and a sergeant. As soon as they are in possession of the territory, they will be sure proof of the king's dominion.

"For this purpose Captain Juan Bautista de Anza will take a second[1] expedition overland to Monterey from Sonora, where he must recruit the said troops. He will see that they take their wives[2] and children along so that they may become attached to their domicile. He will also bring along sufficient

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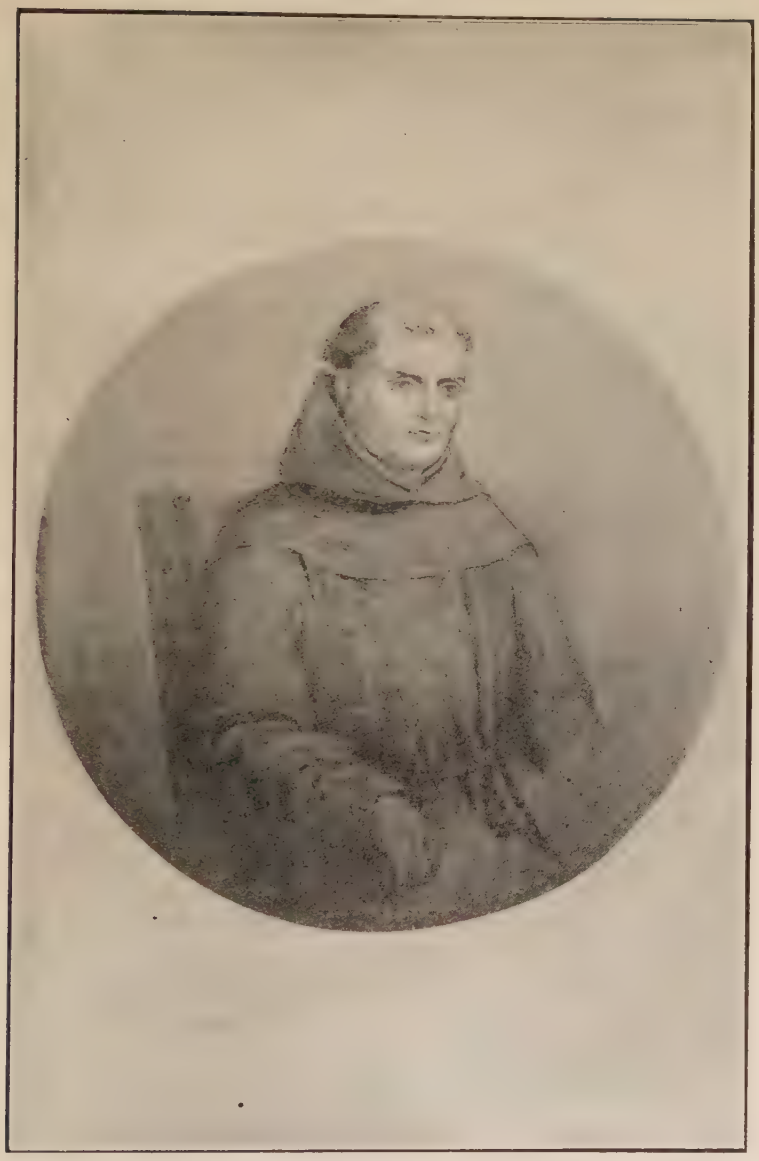
[1] With a small number of soldiers, accompanied by Fr. Juan Diaz, O. F. M., he had reached Monterey on April 21, 1774. See *The Missions*, ii, 137.

[2] This was in deference to Fr. Serra's request that the soldiers should all be married men.



FR. JUNIPERO SERRA, O. F. M.

supplies of grain and of flour, besides cattle to carry out his commission thoroughly. . . . .

"When the territory has been examined, and the presidio is established, it will be necessary to erect the proposed Missions in its immediate vicinity, as well for the purpose of securing its continuance as for propagating our holy Faith among the gentiles who inhabit the country. To this end I ask and charge Your Reverence that, while you continue in the fervent zeal which on all occasions you have manifested in the service of God and the king, you devote yourself to bringing this important work to a happy issue by choosing the religious whom you may then instruct to discharge this commission and ministry. Doubt not that the commander, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, will contribute supplies and necessary assistance as far as possible, for to that effect I on this very day send him instructions; nor that so far as lies in me I shall certainly co-operate cheerfully with my means to the same end. . . . Likewise, I promise myself that Your Reverence, who is so well versed in establishing Missions, will give such directions in economy as are needed for the management of the supplies, lest the case arise that they fail before your own harvests may permit a little more liberality. Above all, Your Reverence will communicate to me whatever information you may consider opportune."

In a postscript to this letter, the noble Bucareli adds this highly important remark: "The first object of the expedition is to conduct troops for the protection of the Missions which it is decided to establish at the port of San Francisco. Nothing is of such interest as the accomplishment of this for subsequent plans. When the efforts by sea have been successful, we shall learn of the vast field in which the apostolic zeal of the missionaries can labor so that the pious intentions of the king may be realized, and that those establishments aid one another, for which purpose I shall give every encouragement in my power. This Your Reverence will point out to me as is necessary in accord with Comandante Moncada. I know that this year the harvest has been abundant. Its encourage-

ment is the duty of Your Reverence so that the abundance of the provisions may facilitate the conversion of the pagans. Between the two Missions, and not far from the coast, a fort will have to be erected for the defense of the troops in order that they may go to the assistance of the one and the other (Mission), whenever the guard of six men assigned to each might not be sufficient."[3]

Two weeks later, January 2, 1775, Bucareli informed Fr. Serra that the expedition (of Anza) had been agreed to by his Council, and then he continued: "I now repeat more emphatically what is contained in the postscript to my last letter, and I add that, according to the resolution of the said Council, the Pious Fund must contribute the sum of $2,000, $1,000 for each of the two Missions. This will have to be turned over by the royal officials from this treasury to the Síndico of the Apostolic College of San Fernando at this Capital, as I this day notify its Rev. Fr. Guardian; but, when the amount has been employed in establishing the two Missions, I must be given a formal account of it in accordance with the resolution of the Council. I therefore ask and charge Your Reverence to draw up a very circumstantial account of all expenses required, and to send it to me at an opportune time."[4]

The transport *San Carlos* in command of Captain Juan Bautista de Ayala, which had sailed from San Blas, Mexico, in March, 1775, with orders from the viceroy to survey the port of San Francisco in conjunction with the land expedition under Anza, arrived at its destination on June 27th. The chaplain for the voyage was Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria of the College of San Fernando. It was Ayala who brought up Bucareli's letter of December 15, 1774, and delivered it in person to Fr. Serra. Ayala then ordered his carpenters to construct a dugout from a large redwood tree on the Rio Carmelo, in order thus to facilitate the survey by water.

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[3] *The Missions,* ii, 161-163.

[4] *The Missions and Missionaries,* ii, 163.

Accompanied by Fr. Santa Maria, the *San Carlos* set sail at Monterey on July 27,[5] 1775. At the same time a Novena for the success of the expedition was begun in honor of St. Francis. In the evening of the ninth day the vessel arrived opposite the entrance of the inland bay, or "arm of the sea," as it had been termed by the first explorers. The launch built at Carmelo was sent in ahead to examine the channel now famed the world over as the Golden Gate. Although it had grown dark, the frigate followed soon after. The *San Carlos,* therefore, was the first ship that passed through the strait into San Francisco Bay. The vessel probably anchored near what is North Beach. Next morning, Saturday, August 5th, (or 2nd according to Bancroft's view), ship and launch united, and moved over to the island which the explorers named Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, or Angel Island. Here they found an abundance of wood and fresh water. Ayala directed José Cañizares, the first pilot, to continue in the launch the survey of the bay toward the north. Cañizares accordingly proceeded to examine the round bay, now called San Pablo Bay. The intrepid pilot ventured farther until he reached sweet water, and observed that five streams united and formed the Rio San Francisco, now San Joaquin River. Meanwhile the pilot and his men came in contact with many Indians who all proved very friendly.

On the return of the explorers to the *San Carlos,* the second pilot, Juan Bautista Aguirre, was directed to examine the bay to the southeast. While thus employed, Aguirre discovered various coves with good anchorage. He saw only three Indians, who were lamenting for some reason or another, wherefore he called the inlet where they appeared *La Ensenada de los Llorones*—The Bay of the Weepers, now Mission Bay. Having completed the survey of both arms of the great bay,

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[5] Bancroft argues that this date in Doyle's edition of Palóu must be a misprint; that it ought to be 24, which would bring the navigators to Angel Island on August 2nd, the feast of Our Lady of the Angels, for which it was named.

the explorers declared that this port was the best under the Spanish flag, and that it was not merely one port but many with a single entrance.

During the forty days that the *San Carlos* lay at anchor in the harbor of what now gradually came to be called San Francisco Bay, instead of the one under Point Reyes, two native Indians approached the vessel on rafts made of tules. They offered presents of fresh fish, which the Spaniards repaid by means of beads and other trifles very much prized by the savages. Fr. Santa Maria and the officers on several occasions crossed the Golden Gate and landed on the northern shore which extends to Point Reyes. He was therefore the first priest and religious who set foot on the northern shore. Here[6] the Spaniards found a rancheria of Indians who showed themselves very friendly to the strangers. When after forty days of surveying and waiting Ayala became convinced that it would be useless to wait longer for the land expedition, he had the *San Carlos* set sail for Monterey. On the day before leaving the port, however, Fr. Santa Maria ascended the heights of Point Lobos, and at the foot of the Cross, erected there by Fr. Palóu and Captain Rivera nine months previously, buried two letters intended for the leader of the land expedition. The *San Carlos* then sailed away, and on September 22, 1775, again dropped anchor in Monterey harbor.

In the meantime Captain Bruno Ezeta (Heceta) on July 31, 1775, with the *Santiago* arrived at Monterey from his exploring expedition to the far northwest coast. On account of the fogs he had been unable to find the entrance to the port of San Francisco, and therefore resolved to reach that harbor by land for the purpose of making additional surveys in obedience to the viceroy. Guards were not available until September 14th. On this day Captain Ezeta set out with three sailors, a carpenter, nine soldiers, and a mule which bore a small canoe.

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[6] "El P. Santa Maria con los señores oficiales fue varias veces a tierra a la banda, que cae al norte, y confina con la Punta de Reyes."—Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, cap. vi, p. 104

By order of Fr. Serra, Fr. Palóu and Fr. Campa y Cos joined the expedition with the intention of selecting a site for the future Mission of San Francisco.

"We followed the same road which had been traveled in the previous year," Fr. Palóu writes, "and on the 22nd of September we reached the shore of Farallones Bay.[7] On the beach we found the dugout which had been constructed on the Rio Carmelo. It was filled up with sand and water, and not far apart from it lay the paddles. We followed the shore to the high hill at the mouth of the entrance (Golden Gate), ascended it, and at the foot of the Cross we found the two letters of Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria. In the first he informed us of the successful arrival and of the anchorage at the port. In the second he told us that the survey had been made, and that, in case we arrived, we should go into the port about one league and make a fire on the beach. We should then be seen from the island which they called Our Lady of the Angels, where they lay at anchor. This we did; but when we saw neither ship nor sign, we returned to the camp which we had left on the banks of a large lagoon that discharged its water into the bay of the Farallones, and which lagoon was called Nuestra Señora de la Merced." The name was doubtless applied by Fr. Palóu for the feast of the day Our Lady of Ransom, September 24th. In the afternoon of the same day Ezeta's company began the return march, and arrived at Monterey on October 1st.[8]

We have now to relate the movements of the memorable land expedition announced by Viceroy Bucareli in the beginning of this chapter. According to the *Diário* of Fr. Pedro Font, O.F.M., the chaplain and chronicler, the whole party assembled at the presidio of San Miguel, Sonora, was composed of the Lieutenant-Colonel Juan B. de Anza, Chaplain Fr. Pedro Font of the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, Pur-

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[7] The roadstead from Point San Pedro to Point Reyes, also called San Francisco Bay, from the little bay under Point Reyes.

[8] *The Missions and Missionaries,* ii, 161-165.

veyor Don Mariano Vidal, Lieutenant José Joachin Moraga, ten veteran soldiers as guards, twenty military recruits for Monterey, the wives, children and other persons pertaining to the twenty recruits to the number of 106 persons, twenty muleteers in charge of the pack-train, and four colonist families, in all, therefore, 177 persons. The pack-train consisted of 120 mules bearing supplies, ammunition, etc., twenty mules bearing the baggage of the commander and his officers, and 450 horses carrying the soldiers, colonists, etc., in all, therefore, 590 animals.[9] Later on about 350 head of cattle were added for subsistence, and for breeding purposes in the new colonies.

"For defraying the expenses that would have to be made on account of the expedition," Fr. Palóu, having in mind the lack of similar encouragement which the missionaries encountered, wistfully relates: "His Excellency (viceroy) opened the royal treasury widely, inasmuch as he commanded that Señor Anza should be given whatever he might demand, as well for provisions as for clothing, in behalf of the soldiers and their families, and also in behalf of the colonists. Anza was also to be allowed whatever he wanted in order to purchase horses, mules and a good herd of cattle, with orders, however, that the enlisted soldiers and settlers, and the live stock would have to remain in the new establishments. The viceroy furthermore decreed that whatever was expended to obtain clothing, weapons and rations for the troops and colonists was granted by his Majesty as a bounty; but that the wages began with the day of enlistment. Thus the expenses to the royal treasury in bounties alone[10] amounted to $800 for each soldier and his family, besides the daily pay, which began with the day of enlistment." [11]

The march began on the feast of St. Michael, Archangel,

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[9] *The Missions,* ii, 173 et subseq. Font. *Diario,* Sept. 29, 1775.

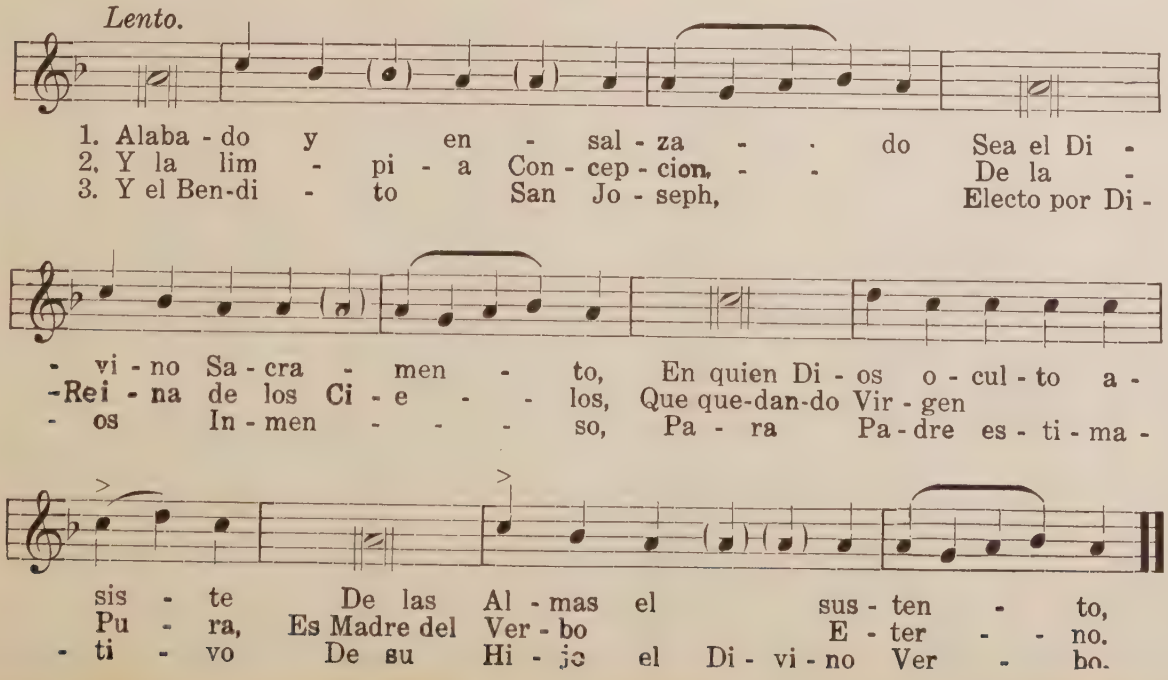
[10] "de solo gratificacion."

[11] Palóu *Noticias,* iv, cap. xii, p. 134. Compare this with the niggardly contribution from the Pious Fund for the founding and support of the Missions.

September 29th, 1775, after a High Mass sung by Fr. Font, who also preached an appropriate sermon. The expedition moved slowly on account of the cattle, which were driven along for subsistence on the road, and for starting herds in the contemplated Missions of San Francisco Bay. On the journey holy Mass was offered up every morning. On Sundays and holydays Fr. Font would add the sermon or instruction on the Gospel of the day. Just before setting out in the morning, Fr. Font would intone the *Alabado* which was then sung by all. At night the Rosary was recited by each family, and the devotions would close with the *Alabado* or with the *Salve Regina* sung in common.

The route ran by way of the Colorado at Yuma, Mission San Gabriel, Mission San Luis Obispo, Mission San Antonio, to Monterey reached on Sunday, March 10, 1776. Here of necessity, and because of Captain Rivera's spitefulness, the main body of the expedition made a long stop. Rivera would not permit the presidio and the Mission to be established at San Francisco just then. The soldiers and colonists recruited for the purpose had, therefore, to remain at Monterey until it pleased the erratic military commander of California to direct otherwise. The strange order, which Rivera sent from San Diego to Lieutenant Moraga, produced consternation among the immigrants, and much disgust to the four missionaries who had already been appointed for the Missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara in accordance with the viceroy's instructions. Colonel Anza under date of March 10th communicated the feelings of all to Rivera. He showed that the people brought along were very much incommoded by the order to stay at Monterey, and that the four missionaries, who for two years had been waiting for the execution of the viceroy's command, were determined to return to Mexico unless the Missions were started; that he (Anza) would therefore proceed to survey the land about the port of San Francisco, and if a suitable site were discovered he would return to Monterey and conduct the people to the chosen locality, even if it delayed his departure for Sonora a whole month, because

Alabado.


Lento.
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2. Y la lim - pi - a Con - cep - cion, - - De la -
3. Y el Ben-di - to San Jo - seph, Electo por Di -
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he knew that such action would please the viceroy. Instead of gratifying Rivera, this letter angered him because he saw that Anza was taking sides with the missionaries, as Fr. Font observes.

On Sunday, March 17th, Fr. Font notes a significant incident. "I went (from San Carlos) to celebrate holy Mass at the presidio of Monterey. As soon as I arrived there, some members of the expedition came to see and salute me, and to lament the misery in which they found themselves. They had but poor water to drink, or none at all, and there was no soap to wash themselves, etc., because Señor Rivera had commanded that no one should leave the presidio, and that the horses would have to be kept at Point Pinos, whether there was pasturage or not. To this I replied with some words of consolation, as I confirmed and believed what they told me was evident. The sergeant, who on my arrival would scarcely salute me, heard what I said. Emerging from his quarters, he said to me: 'Father, do not discourage the people.' I answered that I was not discouraging them by speaking with them on the condition of the presidio and its discomforts which were so manifest; for about this same subject[12] I had preached on the whole journey, etc. To this the sergeant turning on the people replied in an insolent manner, 'They are now here, and here they will have to work hard or starve'[13] With that he returned to his quarters. I saw indeed that the horses were confined in the corral, and I asked him why they were not kept all day in the field as Señor Anza had directed. He replied that he had the commands from Señor Rivera to that effect. During holy Mass I preached on the Gospel of the day: Our Lord with five barley loaves and two fishes feeding those who had followed Him with good intention. This I utilized to raise the drooping spirits of the distressed people."

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[12] i.e., discussing the hardships and urging the people to make the most of the situation in a Christian manner.

[13] "Ya estan aqui, y aqui han de rabiar ó alargar el pellejo." The sergeant appears to have been a worthy disciple of Rivera.

CHAPTER IV

Colonel Anza with Fr. Font and Guards Proceeds to San Francisco Bay.—At Point Lobos.—The Golden Gate.—Cross Raised on Site of Future Presidio.—Fr. Font's Prophetic Vision.—A Memorable Day.—Dolores.—Bear Fight.—Return March.—Palo Alto.—The Colonists at Monterey.—Felipe de Neve Appointed Governor.—Lieutenant Moraga and Fr. Palóu Proceed to Found Presidio and Mission.—Temporary Chapel.

COLONEL ANZA, since the 13th of March, had been very ill in his quarters at Mission San Carlos, but, under the care of Fr. Serra and other friars, by the 22nd he had recovered sufficiently to resume the journey for the final survey of the port of San Francisco. With Fr. Font he accordingly bid the Fathers farewell, and moved to the presidio. Next morning, Saturday, after holy Mass, Fr. Font relates, "we set out from the presidio of Monterey at half past nine, that is to say, Comandante Anza and I, with the lieutenant (Moraga), eleven soldiers, eight from Tubac, two from Monterey who had been with the expedition of Captain Fages, and the corporal from here named Robles, who had accompanied Captain Rivera on the journey, for the purpose of guiding us to the port and river. In addition there were the necessary muleteers and servants, six in number. Thus the whole number was twenty souls."

The expedition went pretty much over the same road taken by Rivera and Fr. Palóu in December, 1774, until the Arroyo de San Francisco (San Francisquito Creek) was reached. On the other bank the explorers found the Cross which Fr. Palóu had planted there on November 28, 1774. The expedition under Portolá, too, had camped there November 7th to 11th, 1769. From this point, also, Captain Fages and Fr. Crespi had turned to the right in March, 1772. It seems that Anza closely adhered to the route taken by Rivera and Fr. Palóu. At all events, Fr. Font acknowledges that he had with him the diaries of both Fr. Crespi and Fr. Palóu. From the Arroyo

of San Francisco the expedition continued up the valley to the Arroyo of San Mateo. On the way several rancherias of Indians were passed. Fr. Font found the natives to be very friendly, but exceedingly filthy. One rancheria was at war with another, sometimes for nothing more than for the mussel shells of the shore. Very many of the men had beards, but none was of light color, such as Fr. Crespi had seen. They had the ear-lobes and the nostrils pierced, and in the holes they wore tiny sticks of wood. The women wore a sort of petticoat of dried grass. To these Indian women Anza would present a few beads whenever they appeared.

Wednesday, March 27th, was to be a memorable day. "I celebrated holy Mass," Fr. Font begins. "The day broke clear and bright. At seven in the morning we set out from the little creek a short distance north of San Mateo Creek, and at eleven, having marched about six leagues, we pitched camp at a lagoon or spring of clear water close to the mouth of the port of San Francisco.[1] We, the commander, I, the lieutenant and four soldiers, proceeded to examine the port, and I beheld a prodigy of nature, which it is not easy to describe.[2] First we went to the point at the mouth of the port,[3] where Captain Rivera had planted the Cross. We found it still standing but without the form of a cross, because perhaps the Indians took away the cord with which the crossbeam had been tied to the shaft. Here I entertained myself awhile making observations with a graphometer which Fr. Palóu had loaned to me. I observed the mouth of the port, Point Reyes, Point Almejas and the Farallones which are out in the ocean, and the length of the mouth (strait) until it enters the bay."

Fr. Font relates that they went down to the ocean beach where they found the wreck of the dugout used by Captain Ayala in a previous survey. Colonel Anza carried away with

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[1] Mountain Lake, Bancroft concludes.

[2] Fr. Font describes San Francisco Bay accurately—"Vi un prodigio de la naturaleza.'

[3] Point Lobos.

him two pieces of the wreck as souvenirs. The little party ascended the heights once more, Fr. Font relates, and crossed over to the edge of the *cantil blanco* or steep white rock which forms the end of the gate or channel to the port, and where begins the grand bay. "This *cantil* is very high and steep, so much so that one from there could spit right into the water below," Fr. Font explains. "We saw the spouting of young whales, a line of dolphins or tunas, besides seals and otters. The commander determined to place a Cross on this elevation, and he at once commanded it to be constructed in order to plant it on the following day. Thereupon we returned to the camp, which was not far away, and arrived there at five in the afternoon. We had in all traveled around about three leagues. This place and its surrounding country afforded much pasturage, sufficient firewood and good water, favorable conditions for establishing the presidio or fort contemplated. Only timber was lacking, as there was no tree on those heights; but not far away were live oaks and other trees. The soldiers chased up some deer, but secured not one. Of these animals we saw many today, and we also found antlers of large stags, of which there is an abundance on the other side of the bay. . . . . The entrance to the port is about one league long, somewhat less than a league wide on the side of the ocean, and about a quarter of a league wide on the side of the bay."

Fr. Font then describes the surrounding points of interest most faithfully, and intersperses his narrative with pen drawings of the farallones and the various islands in the bay.

Next day, March 28th, Fr. Font celebrated holy Mass in camp, as he did every morning, the others attending. After holy Mass he blessed the Cross which had been made, and which Anza intended planting on the edges of the cantil blanco. "At eight in the morning," Fr. Font relates, "we proceeded to the spot, the commander, I with the lieutenant, and four soldiers. The Cross was then placed on a suitable elevation which could be distinguished from the whole length of the channel and a good deal farther. At the foot of the Cross,

under a few rocks, the commander (Fr. Font always uses the trem *Señor Comandante* when speaking of Colonel Anza), left in writing a narrative of his arrival and of the survey of the port." The land back of the site thus marked pleased Fr. Font immensely so that unwittingly he employed prophetical language. "From this table land (mesa) one enjoys a most delicious view," he writes; "for from there one observes a good part of the bay and its islands as far as the other side, and one has a view of the ocean as far as the farallones. In fact, although, so far as I have traveled, I have seen very good places and beautiful lands, I have yet seen none that pleased me so much as this. I do believe that, if it could be well populated, as in Europe, there would be nothing more pretty in the world; for this place has the best accommodations for founding on it a most beautiful city, inasmuch as the desirable facilities exist as well on the land as on the sea, the port being exceptional and capacious for dockyards, docks, and whatever would be wanted. This tableland was designated by the commander as the site of the new colony and fort which were to be established at this port; for on account of its height it commands such a dominating position that it can defend the entrance to the port at gunshot. At the distance of a gunshot it has water for the maintenance of the population, namely, the spring or lagoon where we camped." Fr. Font then returned to the camp at about ten o'clock, while Anza and the lieutenant continued the survey. Before retiring, however, he took the bearings, and concluded that the latitude of the place was 37 degr. and 49 minutes. At five in the afternoon Anza returned with the lieutenant, much pleased with the results of the observations.

On Friday, March 29th, Fr. Font celebrated holy Mass as usual. Later on Anza directed the pack train to return and go into camp at the Arroyo de San Mateo, "while we went in another direction," Fr. Font relates. "We rode about one league to the east, one to the east-southeast, and one to the southeast, going over hills covered with bushes, and over valleys of good land. We thus came upon two lagoons and

some springs of good water, meanwhile encountering much grass, fennel and other good herbs. We then arrived at a lovely creek, which because it was the Friday of Sorrows (of Our Lady) we called the *Arroyo de los Dolores.*[4]

Bancroft writes: "Arriving at the spring and rivulet discovered the day before (by Anza), they named it from the day, the last Friday in Lent, Arroyo de los Dolores." The last Friday in Lent is Good Friday, which in 1776 fell on the 5th of April. It is by the Spaniards called *Viernes Santo,* not Viernes de los Dolores. The latter term is exclusively applied to the Friday preceding the last Friday in Lent, Friday before Palm Sunday, which that year occurred on March 29th, the day when Fr. Font with his military companions named it. To clinch the matter we repeat what Fr. Font wrote in his *Diario* on the morning of the said day. "Dia 29. Viernes. Dixe Missa."—"29th day. Friday. I celebrated holy Mass." Thus Fr. Font begins every day's entry, except on Holy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday, the three last days in Lent, on which he did not celebrate holy Mass, because on these days private holy Mass is forbidden, notably on Good Friday, on which day no Masses are celebrated at all. Hence the term Dolores was applied to the little stream or spring on account of the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows—Nuestra Señora de los Dolores—celebrated on the Friday before Palm Sunday.

"On the banks of the Arroyo de los Dolores we discovered many fragrant chamomiles and other herbs, and many wild violets. Near the streamlet the lieutenant planted a little corn and some garbanzos in order to try out the soil, which to us appeared good. As for me, I judged that this place was very fine, and the best for establishing on it one of the two Missions, whilst it seemed to me that the other could be founded on the Arroyo de San Mateo." Mission San Francisco was, indeed, erected on the spot pointed out near the

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[4] "Llegamos a un hermoso arroyo, que por ser Viernes de Dolores le llamamos el Arroyo de los Dolores."

Arroyo de los Dolores, but the second Mission, Santa Clara, was placed farther south than San Mateo Creek.

"We moved a little, and from a slight elevation I observed that the direction of the bay was toward the east-southeast," Fr. Font resumes his description. "Near this hill, in the direction of the bay, there is a good piece of level land, into which the Arroyo de los Dolores enters suddenly like a falls as it emerges from the hills. By means of its water all the land could be irrigated, and at the very falls which is very suitable for the purpose, a mill could be operated."

The expedition then marched three leagues south, southwest and west, rounded the hills, and came to a little arroyo which Fr. Palóu had named Arroyo de San Bruno. After lunching here, the march was resumed, until the Cañada de San Andrés was reached. Later the explorers approached the Laguna de la Merced, where Captain Rivera and Fr. Palóu had camped. In the vicinity of the Arroyo de San Mateo, but before arriving on its banks, the soldiers encountered an immense bear. In the fight that ensued gunshots barely penetrated the shaggy hide, doing the bear no harm. Finally a shot from Corporal Robles pierced the animal's throat, whereupon the beast endeavored to escape in the bushes. It soon dropped, however, and died from the loss of blood. The close observer, Fr. Font, noticed that the animal, although very fat, must have been old, as one tooth was lacking and the others were well worn away. The flesh had a very musky smell, or like that of a young fox. It measured about seven feet in length and three feet in height.

On March 30th, Saturday before Palm Sunday, Fr. Font celebrated holy Mass in the camp at San Mateo Creek. At a quarter past seven in the morning the expedition set out, and at four in the afternon, having marched about twelve leagues, crossed a river and went into camp. The stream was there and then called Rio de Guadalupe. It discharges its waters into the head of the bay. When the explorers that day had marched about six leagues, they came to the vicinity of San Francisco Creek, on the banks of which stood a very

tall redwood tree. It was visible from very distant points, wherefore good Fr. Font went to work measuring its dimensions by means of the graphometer which he had loaned from Fr. Palóu at Mission San Carlos. While savage Indians stood gaping at his proceedings, Fr. Font calculated that the solitary redwood tree was about fifty varas in height (140 feet), and the trunk at the base was five and one-half varas in circumference (15½ feet.)

On Palm Sunday, March 31st, holy Mass having been celebrated, Anza, at eight a.m., led the expedition away from the Rio de Guadalupe with a view of reaching the great River San Francisco, now San Joaquin River. They marched around the southern end of the bay, and at four p.m. went into camp on the bank of the *Arroyo de San Salvador,* so named by Fr. Crespi in 1772. On the expedition of Pedro Fages it received the name *Arroyo de la Harina,* because in its waters a packmule's load of flour was soaked. Anza seems to have followed the route marked out by Fr. Crespi, wherefore it is unnecessary to repeat the details, although Fr. Font's description notes other interesting incidents. However, a drawing, which outlines the bay and the vicinity of what is now Oakland and Alameda, is reproduced here in facsimile. On April 4th, having proceeded to the Rio San Francisco, but failing to reach the Sierra Nevada on account of the flooded country, Anza decided to return to Monterey. On Good Friday, April 5th, therefore, the expedition set out from what Fr. Font designates as *Las Lomas del Principio de la Sierra,* at 6:45 a.m. On Easter Sunday, April 7th, Fr. Font celebrated holy Mass, which he had not done on the three preceding days, and then the expedition marched till 5:15 in the afternoon, when they camped on the Rio de Monterey, or Salinas River. Next morning, Easter Monday, after holy Mass and breakfast, the march was resumed. At four in the afternoon all arrived at Mission San Carlos. They had reached the presidio at ten a.m., but stopped only long enough for dinner and to receive the salutations of the people left there. At the Mission four Fathers received the explorers with rejoicings

FR. FONT'S DRAWING OF THE SITE OF ALAMEDA

and the ringing of bells. Much satisfaction was manifested by the missionaries that sites for the Mission and for the presidio had been found.

While Anza and his followers rested at San Carlos, Fr. Font seized the opportunity of preparing and perfecting his map, "which pictured this whole journey, which we made from Monterey to San Francisco, going and returning, with the road marked out by dots," as Fr. Font writes on April 12th.

On Saturday, April 13th, no reply having come from Captain Rivera, Colonel Anza with Fr. Font and his guards said farewell to Fr. Serra, and the other Fathers at the Mission. Next day Anza turned over the Sonora recruits, colonists and their families, one hundred and ninety-three[5] souls, to Lieutenant J. Joaquin Moraga, who was to conduct them to the port of San Francisco, and to have command of that post. Anza's company, with whom he set out from Monterey on Sunday, April 14th, consisted of himself, Fr. Font, Mariano Vidal, Carlos Gallegos and wife, ten guards from Tubac, eleven muleteers and servants, and three vaqueros, in all twenty-nine persons.[6]

Meanwhile Captain Rivera's strange conduct regarding the missionaries had become known at the capital of Mexico. Viceroy Bucareli, very much mortified, accordingly directed Rivera to take up his residence at Loreto, Lower California, as lieutenant-governor. Felipe de Neve, the new governor of the Californias, was instructed to remove to Monterey. He thus became the first resident governor of Upper California. Ignorant of these changes, however, Captain Rivera, under date of May 7th, 1776, from San Diego ordered Lieutenant José Joaquin Moraga, still waiting at Monterey with the disconsolate

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[5] To this number, Fr. Font says later, some must be added who joined the expedition at Tubac. Before leaving Monterey on April 13th, Fr. Font gives a complete list of immigrants, etc., who were destined for the port of San Francisco, 193 persons in all, but remarks there were about 200.

[6] Fr. Font, *Diário;* Fr. Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, 69-71; 133 et seq.; *The Missions,* ii, 173-190; 200-202.

immigrants, to proceed to the port of San Francisco with twenty soldiers, and to erect the presidio on the spot selected by Juan B. Anza. He might as well have issued orders for the founding of the Mission at the port in obedience to the viceroy's command. Instead, well knowing that this would have pleased the eager Fr. Serra, Rivera instructed Moraga to postpone the founding of the Mission, and to inform the Fr. Presidente to that effect. It was the last opportunity the captain had to inflict pain on Fr. Serra. On the same date, May 7th, Rivera ordered Sergeant Pablo Grijalva, whom Anza had left at the Mission San Gabriel with twelve soldiers and their families from Sonora, to move on to Monterey. Grijalva with his charge reached Monterey on May 28th, and delivered Rivera's despatches of May 7th to Lieutenant Moraga. The latter next day communicated the captain's instructions to Fr. Serra at Mission San Carlos. At the same time Moraga informed the Fr. Presidente that he had decided to start with the people for the port of San Francisco about the middle of June. Though Fr. Serra deeply regretted Rivera's orders to postpone the founding of the Mission, and doubtless suspected the motive, he directed Fr. Palóu and Fr. Cambon to accompany Moraga and his colonists as chaplains. While thus engaged, Fr. Serra thought, it would be well for them to be on hand to begin the Mission which could scarcely be delayed much longer. This decision pleased the lieutenant, and he accordingly hastened the preparations.

A few days later, June 3rd, the transport *San Carlos* arrived at Monterey. Under orders from the viceroy, this vessel now took aboard all the property of the soldiers and colonists, the church goods, house furniture, and farm implements for the new presidio as well as for the proposed Mission of San Francisco. The gloom which had lain on the Fathers and the immigrants was at last removed.

The expedition, which on June 17th marched out of Monterey to establish the presidio of San Francisco, consisted of Lieutenant José Joaquin Moraga, Sergeant Pablo Grijalva,

two corporals, ten[7] soldiers and seven colonists. Moraga had left his wife ill in Sonora; but the sergeant, all the soldiers, and the settlers had brought their wives and children along. In addition there were five Indians in charge of the pack mules and of two hundred head of cattle. The Fathers who went as founders of the Mission, were Fr. Francisco Palóu and Fr. Pedro Cambon. Two Indian servants, two Indian neophytes from Lower California, and one neophyte from San Carlos accompanied the two Fathers. The San Carlos Indian was taken along to see if he could act as interpreter with the bay Indians.[8] A number of pack mules and eighty-six head of cattle for the Mission were in charge of these neophytes.

The route taken by Moraga was about the same traveled by Fr. Palóu in 1774. On account of the women and children the march was slow, and the stops were frequent. The savages encountered proved very friendly, but manifested much surprise at sight of such a multitude of women and children. Previous to that period they had beheld only a few soldiers. The appearance of the cattle created amazement, as the natives had never seen such animals before. They would often visit the white people's camp, and in return for shellfish and wild seeds they would receive glass beads and eatables. They accepted everything except the milk of the cows. They would not even taste it.

Four days' journey from the port of San Francisco, in the great plain named for San Bernardino,[9] Fr. Palóu writes, the expedition observed in the distance a herd of fifteen elks. The soldiers gave chase, but succeeded in killing only three of the beasts, which wore enormous antlers. Fr. Palóu, out of curiosity, measured those of the largest buck, and found that

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[7] Probably a misprint, for in the *Vida* Fr. Palóu has sixteen soldiers.

[8] The language was found to be so different that the interpreter could not understand it. He was then employed as cattle herder.

[9] Santa Clara Valley.

the distance from tip to tip was sixteen palmos,[10] and that the carcass of any of the slain animals was so heavy that one pack mule could not carry it. The flesh of the elks supplied the people with savory food that lasted till they reached their destination.

"On June 27th," Fr. Palóu relates, "the expedition arrived near its destination. The commander, therefore, ordered the camp to be pitched on the bank of a lagoon which Señor Anza had named Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, and which is in sight of the Ensenada de los Llorones, and of the bay or arm of the sea that extends to the southeast. Here all were to await the transport ship to mark out the site on which to locate the fort and presidio while the country was being explored."[11]

In his *Vida* Fr. Palóu is a little more explicit. There he notes: On June 27th we reached the vicinity of the port, and pitched the camp, which was composed of fifteen tents, on the bank of a large lagoon, which empties its waters into the arm of the sea or the port that extends inland fifteen leagues to the southeast. The object was to wait for the ship to mark out the site for the presidio near a favorable anchorage. No sooner had the expedition gone into camp than many pagan Indians appeared in a friendly manner and with expressions of joy at our coming. Their satisfaction increased when they experienced the kindness with which we treated them, and when they received the little trinkets we would give them in order to attract them, such as beads and eatables. They would repeat their visits and bring little things in keeping with their poverty, such as shellfish and wild seeds.[12]

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[10] A palmo-span, measuring from the tip of the little finger to the end of the thumb, was equal to nine inches, hence about 11 feet. A few lines later in the *Vida,* p. 207, Fr. Palóu has four *varas* or Spanish yards, which results in nearly the same measure, as a vara is equal to about 33 inches.

[11] Fr. Palóu, cap. *Noticias,* xviii, p. 166.

[12] *Vida,* cap. xlv, p. 209.

"On the day after our arrival," Fr. Palou continues in his *Noticias,* "the commander ordered an *enramada* (arbor) to be constructed which was to serve as a chapel for celebrating the holy Sacrifice of the Mass. On an altar erected within I celebrated the first holy Mass on June 29th, the feast of the great holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. My companion missionary celebrated holy Mass immediately after, and we continued celebrating holy Mass there every day, for an entire month, until the camp of the soldiers was transferred to the site near the landing place."[13]

Hence June 29, 1776, five days before the Declaration of Independence, was really the date of the founding of the Mission Dolores or San Francisco de Asis, although officially other dates are reported.

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[13] El Señor Commandante mandó se hiciese una enramada, que serviese de capilla para celebrar el Santo Sacrificio de la Misa, en la que se dijo la primera Misa el dia 29, fiesta de los grandes Santos Apostoles San Pedro y San Pablo; y continuamos á celebrar en ella todos los dias hasta que se traslado el reál al sitio que ocupa del embarcadero."—*Noticias,* iv, cap. xviii, p. 166. "Se formó un altar, en el que dije la primera Misa, y mi Padre Compañero inmediatamente celebró."—*Vida,* cap. xlv, p. 209.

CHAPTER V

Mission Locality.—The Indians.—Preparations for Building Presidio and Mission.—*The San Carlos.*—Presidio Plan.—Dedication.—Titular of the Presidio.—Celebration.—Expedition by Land and Water.—Discoveries.—The Mission Constructed.—Dedication.—The Titular Feast.—Generous Captain Quiros.—Dates False and True.

WHILE the soldiers and immigrants anxiously waited for the appearance of the *San Carlos,* Fr. Palóu and Fr. Cambon availed themselves of the opportunity to visit the native rancherias in order to become acquainted with their prospective converts, or they accompanied the officers who made closer surveys of the surrounding territory. The men at the same time prepared the material for the proposed military fort. "The explorations which we made," Fr. Palóu writes, "showed us that we were on a peninsula without other entrance or outlet than in the direction between the south and the southeast, and that on all other sides we were hemmed in by the sea. On the east we had the arm of the sea which extends to the southeast. As it is not more than three leagues wide, the land and the sierra on the other shore are seen quite clearly. To the north is the other arm of the sea, whereas on the west and partly on the south is the Grand or Pacific Ocean with the roadstead of the Farallones upon which opens the mouth or entrance of the port."[1]

"The natives here are all well formed. Many of them have beards, others are hairless and rather ugly. They are accustomed to tear out by the roots the hair of the eye-brows, and this renders them ugly. They are poor Indians without more of a house than a hedge of branches to protect them somewhat against the high winds which prevail and which molest them very much. The men go entirely naked, except that they cover the shoulders with a sort of small cape pieced

[1] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlv, p. 209.

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together from otter skins and pelican feathers. The women cover themselves with nothing but tules strung together around the waist."[2]

After having waited in vain a whole month for the transport and for despatches from Captain Rivera, Lieutenant Moraga resolved to move the people from the Laguna de los Dolores to the vicinity of the site Colonel Anza had designated, so that the immigrants and the soldiers might begin to erect temporary barracks to shelter themselves until permanent houses could be constructed. This resolution was carried out on July 26th. Immediately barracks were built of tules. The first structure of the kind was set apart for the chapel. "There on July 28th," Fr. Palóu relates, "I celebrated the first holy Mass,"[3] which day, therefore, might be regarded as the date of the founding of the Presidio of San Francisco.

"Notwithstanding that the order which the Señor Comandante (Rivera) sent from San Diego to the Señor Lieutenant (Moraga)," Fr. Palóu says, "was to the effect that the presidio only should be founded, the Señor Lieutenant, seeing that he had plenty of men, soldiers and colonists, and that the site of the first Mission was so near to the presidio, and that for the present there was no need to fear the surrounding pagan Indians, who really manifested a friendly spirit, determined that we two missionaries should stay where we were, protected by six soldiers, with all the cattle and whatever else belonged to the Mission, so that timber might be cut for building our habitation. He also selected another soldier and one colonist to construct dwellings there for their families."[4] It may be this fact, the beginning of construction work by the workmen, six soldiers and two colonists, that caused Fr. Palóu to date the beginning of the Mission from August 1, 1776, as he designates it on the title pages of the Mission Registers.

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[2] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, cap. xviii, pp. 166-167.

[3] "Siendo la primera (barraca) la que habia de servir de capilla, en la que dije la primera Misa el 28 de dicho mes."—*Noticias,* iv, p. 168.

[4] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv. p. 168.

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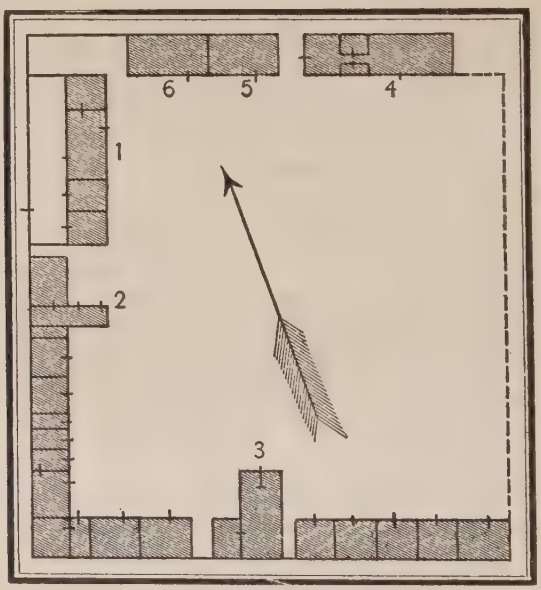
The *San Carlos,* with the presidio and Mission goods aboard, had in the meantime been waiting in the harbor of Monterey for the return of the courier despatched to San Diego for Captain Rivera's permit to take from the presidio two cannon for the new fort in the north, as directed by the viceroy. When the permit arrived, the vessel in command of Captain Fernando Quiros sailed out into the ocean, but heavy



PLAN OF THE PRESIDIO

storms drove the ship as far south as the latitude of San Diego. From there Quiros sailed as far north as latitude forty-two degrees, and then moved down the coast in search of the channel to the desired port. During the night of August 17th the *San Carlos* anchored off Point Reyes; but next morning the vessel passed through the famous gateway a second time.[5] Captain Quiros, the two pilots, José Cañizares and Cristóbal Revilla, and Fr. José Nocedal from the

[5] The first time occurred on August 5th, 1775.

College of San Fernando, who came as the chaplain of the ship, were the first to set foot on the shore near the new colony at about noon, August 18th.

The location of the camp seemed to them quite appropriate for the fort and presidio. Likewise they approved the site at the Laguna de los Dolores for a Mission. In view of the opinion of the captain and of the pilots of the packetboat, Fr. Palóu writes, work was begun on the buildings requisite for the presidio. The plan followed was drawn by the first pilot of the *San Carlos,* José Cañizares, and provided for a stronghold ninety-two *varas* or two hundred and fifty-three feet square. Within this enclosure were to be erected of palisades and roofed with tules[6] the church, officers' quarters, warehouse, guardhouse, and the barracks for the soldiers, colonists, and their families. In order that the buildings might be completed as soon as possible, Captain Quiros sent over a squad of sailors and two carpenters, who, together with the workmen, might construct a good warehouse to receive the supplies, a house for the commander of the presidio, and a chapel for celebrating the holy Sacrifice of the Mass while the soldiers were building houses for their families.

"When Captain Quiros found that the work on the presidio and homes of the immigrants was well under way, he went to the Mission site accompanied by Fr. Nocedal, one pilot, the surgeon, and six mariners, for the purpose of helping to build a church or chapel for celebrating holy Mass, and a dwelling for the missionaries. With this aid of the sailors the work of construction advanced rapidly at both the presidio and the Mission. By the middle of September the soldiers had their quarters constructed of palisades and roofed with tules completed, the commander possessed his house, and a warehouse had been erected sufficiently spacious to hold all the supplies

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[6] "Los soldados hicieron sus casas asi en el Presidio como en la Mision todo de madera (palizadas) con su techo de tule."—*Vida,* p. 210. In his *Noticias,* iv, p. 170, Fr. Palóu writes: "Sus (soldados) casas de palizadas todas con su terrado." Bancroft has "roofed with earth."

brought up from the packetboat. It was then determined that the function of solemnly taking possession should be performed. The day chosen was the one on which the Church, our Mother, celebrates the Impression of the Wounds[7] of our Seraphic Father San Francisco, September 17th, the most appropriate day, since St. Francis is the patron of the port, of the presidio, and of the Mission. For the ceremonies of taking possession of the Mission, the day assigned was October 4th, which is the feast of our Seraphic Father St. Francis.

"The function of solemnly taking possession was attended by the commander of the packetboat mentioned, his two pilots, and the greater part of the crew. Only the necessary men were left on board. With the people of the presidio, troops as well as colonists, they formed quite a respectable number of Spaniards. Likewise four religious priests, all from our College, that is to say, the two missionaries of this Mission, the Rev. Chaplain of the bark, and Fr. Tomás de la Peña, who had come from Monterey for the purpose of looking over the site chosen for the second[8] Mission for which he was appointed missionary.

"After the holy Cross had been planted, blessed, and venerated," Fr. Palóu continues, "I on said day sang the first Solemn Mass with deacon and subdeacon. Thereupon the officers performed the ceremony of taking formal possession

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[7] "Dia de la *Impression* de las Llagas de Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco," is clear. Yet Bancroft boldly puts it: "Day of the *Sores* of our seraphic father Saint Francis," a wilful mistranslation for the purpose of rendering Catholic religious practices ridiculous. Llagas (from llagar—to inflict a wound) means wounds the result of violence. The word impression also indicates the nature of the marks in the hands, feet, and side of St. Francis. In connection with this wilful misstatement of Bancroft, the indignant historian Dr. John Gilmary Shea writes: "We regret our inability to use Bancroft's *California;* but it is throughout an attempt to treat Catholic affairs with misrepresentation, derision, and insult. Catholic terms known to every child are put in a way to seem ridiculous and disgusting."—*Hist. Cath. Church,* vol. iv, 351. See Appendix A.

[8] Santa Clara Mission.

in the name of our sovereign. All then entered the church and sang the Te Deum Laudamus, accompanied by the ringing of bells, the salvos of cannon, pistols, and muskets, to which the transport in the harbor responded with its guns. This discharge of firearms and cannon, and the sounding of bells at the same time, doubtless, terrified the savages, for they did not allow themselves to be seen for many days. When this function was concluded, the commander of the presidio assembled all the people and displayed all the liberality which the situation permitted."

The supplies were now removed from the *San Carlos* to the warehouse. While the men were thus occupied, Captain Quiros and Lieutenant Moraga determined to make a closer examination by land and water of the port to the great Rio de San Francisco, as directed by the viceroy. Both agreed to meet on a certain day near the mouth of the stream, there to celebrate the event with a holy Mass, and then to proceed together. Using the launch of the *San Carlos,* Captain Quiros, Fr. Pedro Cambon, Pilot Cañizares, the surgeon of the transport, and a number of sailors started out from the presidio landing, provided with rations for eight days, on the morning of September 25th. On the same morning at eight o'clock Moraga with eight soldiers began the march. The troops also brought along the package containing the vestments and sacred vessels for celebrating holy Mass at the place designated. Riding southward fifteen leagues this troop reached the Rio Guadalupe. From there, going around to the other side of the bay, Moraga reasoned, they would have to travel fifteen leagues to arrive opposite the site of the presidio, and thence they would have to make their way to the meeting place. Lest they missed Quiros and his party, Moraga decided to make a short cut directly through an opening in the Contra Costa range of mountains. This move was the very reason why Moraga failed to see anything of the other expedition; for the road led his party to the eastward upon a great plain. His explorations there added nothing to what was already known of that region. He finally began the return march and arrived at the presidio

on October 7th, three days after the date assigned for the formal opening of the Mission.

Captain Quiros, on the other hand, with his party in the launch sailed through San Pablo Bay, and reached the mouth of the great river on the day agreed upon with Moraga. After waiting a day for the land expedition, and seeing that their provisions would not last them, the captain determined to sail back to the presidio landing, after making some explorations to the westward. The launch moved around the bay until it came to the mouth of a large river which was a quarter of a league wide. Near it they discovered a large port which the explorers named Assumption of Our Lady.[9] It is no less fine and secure a harbor than that of San Diego, Fr. Palóu declares. The examinations which they made resulted in the discovery of various estuaries. One of them was very wide and so long that the end was not seen. Supposing that this might communicate with the Pacific Ocean at the Port of Bodega, Quiros resolved to enter and survey it. After navigating up the stream for a whole day and night, always to the westward, the end of it was found, and so the captain learned that all the inland waters had no other outlet to the ocean than through the channel on the border of which the presidio stood. Naming the stream Nuestra Señora de la Merced,[10] the explorers now directly sailed for the starting point and reached the anchorage at the Cantil Blanco on the afternoon of September 29th.

"It has already been said," Fr. Palóu writes in his *Noticias*, "that, notwithstanding Comandante Fernando Rivera's order not to found anything more for the present than the presidio, his lieutenant determined that we could pass on to the founding of the Mission, because there were sufficient guards for the presidio and one Mission. For this reason, when the expedition set out to begin erecting the presidio, he left us two missionaries at this place on the Laguna de los Dolores with a

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[9] Bancroft appears to think it identical with Suisun Bay; Hittell identifies it with the Port of Vallejo.

[10] Our Lady of Ransom, now Petaluma Creek.

guard of six soldiers, one of whom was named corporal, and one settler with his family. Likewise the families of the six soldiers who were married remained here.

"As soon, therefore, as we found ourselves alone, with the help of the three servants we began cutting timber in preparation for the building of the permanent chapel and dwellings. On the arrival of the bark[11] we had already sufficient lumber in readiness. Then with the aid of the sailors, whom Captain Quiros set to work, in a short time a building was completed which measured ten varas or twenty-eight feet in length, and five varas or fourteen feet in width. This structure was of wood (palisades) plastered over with clay and roofed with tules. To this was built of the same material (and probably of the same width) a church eighteen varas (or about fifty feet) long. Adjoining it was, in the rear of the altar, a small room which served as a vestry. The church was adorned in the best manner possible with various cloths, flags, bunting, and pendants from the transport ship.

"The chapel was blessed with every solemnity on October 3rd, the vigil of our Seraphic Father, and it was intended to celebrate the function with every solemnity on the following day. However, because on the whole day the lieutenant had not returned from his expedition, it was resolved to suspend the founding ceremonies, and thus a High Mass only was sung on the feast of our Seraphic Father San Francisco.[12] On the eighth day of said month, as on the previous afternoon the lieutenant had returned, the ceremony of founding[13] the Mission was performed. At this function the officers of the bark assisted with the whole crew, except those absolutely needed

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[11] August 18th.

[12] "Bendijóse la capilla con toda solemnidad el dia 3 de Octubre, vigilia de N. Serafico Padre, . . . se acordó suspender la fundacion y que se cantase el dia de N. Serafico Padre Señor San Francisco una Misa, como lo hice."—*Noticias,* iv, 177.

[13] Formal opening rather, as the necessary buildings had already been erected.

to guard the ship. Likewise the commander of the presidio with all the troops and settlers took part, except those who had to stay at the port. I sang the High Mass assisted by a deacon and subdeacon. At the conclusion[14] a procession was formed in which on a sort of framework or litter was borne an image of our Seraphic Father San Francisco, the patron of the port, the presidio, and the Mission. The image was later placed on an altar. This function was accompanied with salvos from the muskets of the soldiers, and from the little cannon brought from the ship for that purpose. Fire-crackers and rockets were also discharged. All the people that took part in the celebration then remained at the Mission for the banquet, two cattle having been slaughtered to regale them all. In the aftrnoon the people retired to the presidio, and the seamen withdrew to their ship. The day had been a joyful one for all," Fr. Palóu concludes. "Only the savages did not enjoy themselves on this happy day, as I shall tell in the following chapter."

"The captain of the *San Carlos* now prepared to make the return voyage to San Blas. After having taken in firewood, water, and the necessary ballast, the wind being favorable, the vessel set sail on the morning of October 21st, leaving the chaplain, Fr. Santa Maria, at the Mission as supernumerary. The captain and crew had deserved well of the new Mission. The sailors helped in erecting the buildings, and the carpenter made the doors of the church and of the dwelling. He also built the altar, and as an alms he left a fishingboat and a net. The Mission furthermore obtained from the captain four sailors, who were permitted to stay as laborers. Thus the new Mission now had the six men allowed by the viceroy to add in erecting buildings and cultivating the soil. They also constructed an irrigation ditch which passed near the Mission."[15]

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[14] In the *Vida* Fr. Palóu has the procession precede holy Mass.

[15] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, 168-178; *Vida,* 205-214.

Before proceeding with the narrative, it will be necessary to discuss a discrepancy discovered between the *Noticias* and the *Vida* of Fr. Palóu regarding the date of the founding of Mission San Francisco. In the former work this accurate writer tells us that it had been agreed upon to found(open, rather) the Mission on October 4th. As usual, therefore, in the case of a church dedication, the actual blessing of the structure took place on the afternoon preceding the formal celebration, hence on October 3rd, Commander Moraga was confidently expected to arrive by that date at the latest. When, however, the evening of October 3rd had set in, and Moraga still failed to appear, Fr. Palóu suspended the formal celebration of the founding (opening) of the Mission until the lieutenant should return. Next day, being the great feast of the Founder of the Franciscan Order and the Patron of the Port and Mission, Fr. Palóu, nevertheless, celebrated the High Mass, as he would have done under any circumstances, but without reference to the formal founding or opening of the Mission.

Of this ceremony of dedication on October 3rd, and the ordinary High Mass in honor of St. Francis on the next day, Fr. Palóu in his *Vida* says nothing, but he reports the raising and blessing of the Cross and the High Mass in connection with the formal founding (opening) on October 9th, as though all had transpired on that date. "Both commanders (Quiros and Moraga)," Fr. Palóu relates there, "seeing that no order came from Commander Rivera for the founding of the Mission of our Father San Francisco, resolved that they should proceed to take possession, and to make a beginning for it, as was done on the 9th day of October."[16] We should declare that this date, October 9th, must be a misprint, were it not that in the first *Informe General* (General Report) on the state of all the existing Missions in California drawn up in tabular

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[16] "Ambos Comandantes, viendo que no venia la orden del Comandante Rivera para la fundacion de la Mision de N. P. S. Francisco, resolvieron se pasase á tomar posesion, y a dar principio á ella, como se executó el dia 9 de Octubre."—*Vida,* cap. xlv, p. 214.

form at the end of 1784,[17] so before the *Vida* had been published, Fr. Palóu, in his own hand apparently, gives the date of the founding as October 9th. His successor, Fr. Lasuén, beginning with the year 1785, and all succeeding Fathers Presidentes, in these tabular reports invariably write October 9th. Nevertheless it is an error, as will be apparent from what follows.

With regard to the ceremonies of the dedication, Fr. Palóu summarily relates in the *Vida:* "After the site had been blessed and the holy Cross planted, a procession took place with the image of Our Father San Francisco placed on a sort of litter. It was afterward put on an altar. I then sang the first High Mass, and preached on Our Father San Francisco as the Patron of the Mission. At this founding the people of the presidio, of the bark, and of the Mission assisted, firing salvos at all the functions."

Now for the facts. Lieutenant Moraga returned from his fruitless exploration on *October 7th,* as is clearly stated in the *Noticias,* with an important clause, which is decisive. "On the eighth day of said month (October) *because on the previous evening the Señor Lieutenant had returned,*[18] the ceremony of the founding took place, etc." This evening previous to the eighth of October, which clause Fr. Palóu fortunately inserted, was of course October 7th, as Fr. Palóu had already noted on page 175.[19] Consequently October 9th is an error, and October 8, 1776, was the day of the *formal opening* of *Mission* San Francisco de Asis on the Laguna de los Dolores.

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[17] The Original is in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

[18] "Que la tarde antes habia llegado el Señor Teniente."—*Noticias,* iv, cap. xxi, p. 177.

[19] "Volviendo por el mismo camino llegaron al presidio el dia 7 de Octubre."

CHAPTER VI

Indian Battle.—Insolence of the Savages.—Punishment.—First Converts.—Indian Dress, Food, Beliefs, Marriage, etc.—Captain Fernando de Rivera.—Transferred to Lower California.—Title Page of Registers.—At Whose Expense Missions Were Founded.

"THE natives of the neighboring rancherias frequently visited the Mission site," Fr. Palóu writes, "and apparently they rejoiced at our coming, although, for want of an interpreter, and we ignorant of their language, the reason for our appearance could not be explained to them. They continued thus until August 12th, when the savages of the rancherias on San Mateo Creek, who were their enemies, attacked one of the large rancherias about a league from this lagoon and burnt it down. The conflict resulted in many wounded and dead on both sides. It seems that those of our vicinity were defeated. At any rate, they appeared so much afraid of the others that they constructed rafts of tules and moved over to the other shore facing the presidio, notwithstanding that we tried to detain them, and by signs made them understand that they need not fear as the soldiers would defend them.

"Thereafter but very seldom some of the men or youths would visit us and then only for the sake of hunting wild ducks at our lagoon. They would offer us some of the ducks which they had caught and we in turn would give them beads and some of our food. In their latest visits, made at the beginning of December, 1776, they grew so insolent as to steal, to aim arrows at the corporal of the guard, try to kiss the wife of a soldier,[1] and endeavor to shoot an arrow at a neophyte from Mission Carmelo who happened to be at this Mission. When the sergeant, who was at this Mission about the middle of December, learned

[1] First and only record of such an attempt on the part of an Indian.

all this, he one day, when five gentiles visited us, among whom was the one who had a few days previously threatened the life of the neophyte, ordered him arrested and given a few lashes in the guardhouse. At the cries which he emitted, two savages, who had been hunting ducks in the lagoon, ran up and had the audacity of wanting to take revenge by shooting arrows at the soldiers. The latter discharged two shots from their muskets for the purpose of frightening the Indians, who then went away. No harm was so far done. The sergeant, however, followed them until he saw that they withdrew to the mountain towards the beach; he then retired to the presidio of which he was in charge in the absence of the lieutenant. On the following day the sergeant with some of the soldiers went to the beach, as he suspected that the two Indians had not crossed over to the other shore, in order to have them flogged, because they had discharged arrows at the Mission. His object was to fill them with dread. On the beach he encountered a band of savages. When he asked them who had shot arrows at the Mission they pointed out the two. Although these denied it, the others accused them. The sergeant dismounted. When they saw the move, the two cuprits fled, but two of the soldiers followed them. The other Indians then turned upon the soldiers and began to shoot arrows with the result that a settler, who had come without the leather jacket, was slightly wounded. A horse was also wounded, though not seriously. When the sergeant saw this, and that the Indians would not cease shooting arrows, he commanded the soldiers to discharge their muskets. The wounded settler himself shot one of the Indians, who fell dead in the waters of the channel. The others fled to some rocks which had become isolated not far away. From there they continued shooting arrows. The sergeant now discharged his own gun at them with the result that the ball passed through the leg of one Indian and entered the rock itself. When the isolated gentiles saw that one of their number was dead, and another so badly wounded, they pleaded for peace by throwing their bows and

arrows to the ground. The sergeant did likewise with his gun and thus pacified them. They would not, however, come to the beach when the sergeant called them to gather up their belongings.

"The soldiers captured the two who had fled to the mountain and when they brought them, the sergeant charged them for the audacity of shooting arrows in the Mission. He had them flogged, and by means of signs told them that, if they did so again, he would kill them. He then told them to gather all the belongings, as well those of their own as those that pertained to their companions, and to let them know that if they committed no damage, they would be friends. Through this disaster they were so intimidated that they absented themselves, and would not dare approach the Mission nor the presidio, nor would they allow themselves to be seen for three months till the beginning of March, 1777, when one or the other would come to the Mission. Gradually, attracted by presents and food, as Fr. Palóu remarks in the *Vida,* they yielded, so that on the feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24, 1777, the first three converts, who were adults, were baptized, and did not any more associate with the gentiles."[2]

"The natives of the vicinity and port," Fr. Palóu relates, "are somewhat dark, owing to exposure to the sun, while those who come from the opposite shore of the channel (those who have already come to live at the Mission and are now baptized) are lighter and more robust. All, men as well as women, are accustomed to cut their hair frequently, chiefly when some relative of theirs dies, or when they suffer some affliction. In these cases they throw handfuls of ashes over the head, on the face, and over the other parts of the body. This custom is observed by nearly all the Indians along the coast, although not with regard to the cutting of the hair; for the Indians about the southern establishments seem to take great pride in their hair, men as well as women. The latter, in order to have it rather long, wear it in braids. The

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[2] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, cap. xxii, 179-181; *Vida,* cap. xlv, 214.

men form a sort of turban of their hair, which serves them as a sort of receptacle on the head for keeping their beads and other trifles that are given them."

"In not one of the Missions that occupy the stretch of more than two hundred leagues from this Mission to San Diego has any idolatry been discovered, but only a negative infidelity. Hence there has not been encountered in the Indians the least difficulty to believe any of the points of Faith. Only some kinds of superstitions and vain practices have been found among them; and among the old people some ridiculous tales circulate that such and such people send the rain, make acorns grow, etc.; that they let the whales approach, or the fish, etc. However, they are easily convinced, and those that claim such powers are regarded by the gentiles themselves as frauds, who speak thus only for the purpose of being maintained. Whenever any one falls sick these artful liars attribute it to some hostile Indian who has harmed him. The gentiles also burn the bodies of the dead, nor could they yet be induced to change the custom, which is different from that of the natives in the south, who bury the dead. Indeed many rancherias, notably along the Channel of Santa Barbara, have their enclosed cemeteries for burials.

"The gentiles of this port live on the wild seeds of the field, the duty of gathering them when they are in season belonging to the women, who grind them to flour, of which they make their *atóle (gruel)*. Among them there is a kind of black seed, of the flour of which they make *tamáles* in the shape of a ball the size of an orange. These are very mellow and savory, and resemble toasted almonds. For their support the Indians also help themselves to fishes, several species of which they catch on the shores of both seas. These fishes are very wholesome and palatable, likewise the shellfish of various kinds which never fail them. They also maintain themselves by hunting deer, rabbits, geese, ducks, quails and thrushes. They also avail themselves of the opportunity when a whale runs aground on the shore, which event they

celebrate with great feasting, for they are very fond of the flesh, which is just pure grease or fat. They cut it into strips, roast them underground, and then suspend them from trees. Whenever they want to eat they cut off a piece and eat it together with some other food. In the same manner they treat the flesh of the seal, of which they are not less fond than of whale meat, because it is all pure fat.

"They also have acorns, of which, when ground, they make their gruel and balls. There are also in the mountains nearby, and in the ravines, a kind of hazel nut like those in Spain; and along the hills and sand dunes many strawberries, very delicious and much larger than those in Spain. They are in season during the months of May and June, as are also the mulberries and blackberries. On all the plains and hills there is an abundance of *amóle,* which is the size of the onion with a large and round head. These they place in holes beneath the soil, and above it they have a fire burn for three or four days until the Indians are satisfied that they are well baked. Then they unearth them and eat them. This food tastes very sweet and savory like preserves. There is also another kind of *amóle* which is not often eaten because it is not sweet; but it serves well for soap, as it produces a lather that takes out stains just like Castile soap.

"However, the gentiles have little use for it as they wear no other clothing than that which nature has given them, and thus like Adamites they present themselves without the least sign of shame (that is to say, the men). In order to shield themselves against the cold, which throughout the year prevails at this Mission, chiefly in the morning, they bedaub themselves with mud, and say that it preserves them from the cold; but as soon as the sun begins to warm up things, they wash themselves. The women, even the little girls, move about somewhat decently. For this purpose they wear a kind of apron which they make of the fibre of the tules or sedge, but which does not extend below the knee. Another such apron is tied to the belt behind. Thus the two form a kind of skirt in which they present themselves with some

degree of decency. Over the shoulders they wear a similar covering to protect them in some manner from the cold.

"They marry, but with no more ceremony than the mutual agreement, which lasts until they quarrel. Then they separate and take up with another man or woman, the children generally following the mother. They have no other expression for saying that they have dissolved their matrimony than to say: 'I have cast him off,' or 'I have cast her away.' Nevertheless, there are many marriages among young people and old people in which the couples live united and in peace, cherishing their children and the children loving their parents. They recognize in their marriages no relationship of affinity. On the contrary, this incites them to take as wives their sisters-in-law, and even the mothers-in-law. The custom which they observe is that he who takes a wife takes also as wives all her sisters. Hence they have many wives, yet among them not the least jealousy is observed, the second or third wife regarding the children of her sisters with the same love as her own children, and thus all live together in the same house."[3]

Thus the Mission of San Francisco at Dolores had been at last established in accordance with the orders of the great friend of the Missions, Viceroy Bucareli, although not in accordance with the will of the military commander of California, Captain Rivera. That officer, however, soon learned that his attitude was not in accordance with the will of the viceroy, when the latter in a despatch to the captain expressed the supposition that Mission San Francisco and Mission Santa Clara were already founded. Rivera immediately hastened from San Diego to Monterey to issue orders for the founding of Mission San Francisco. He must have felt greatly relieved when, on reaching Mission San Luis Obispo, he heard that Mission San Francisco had already been established and dedicated. At any rate, he expressed his gratification and declared

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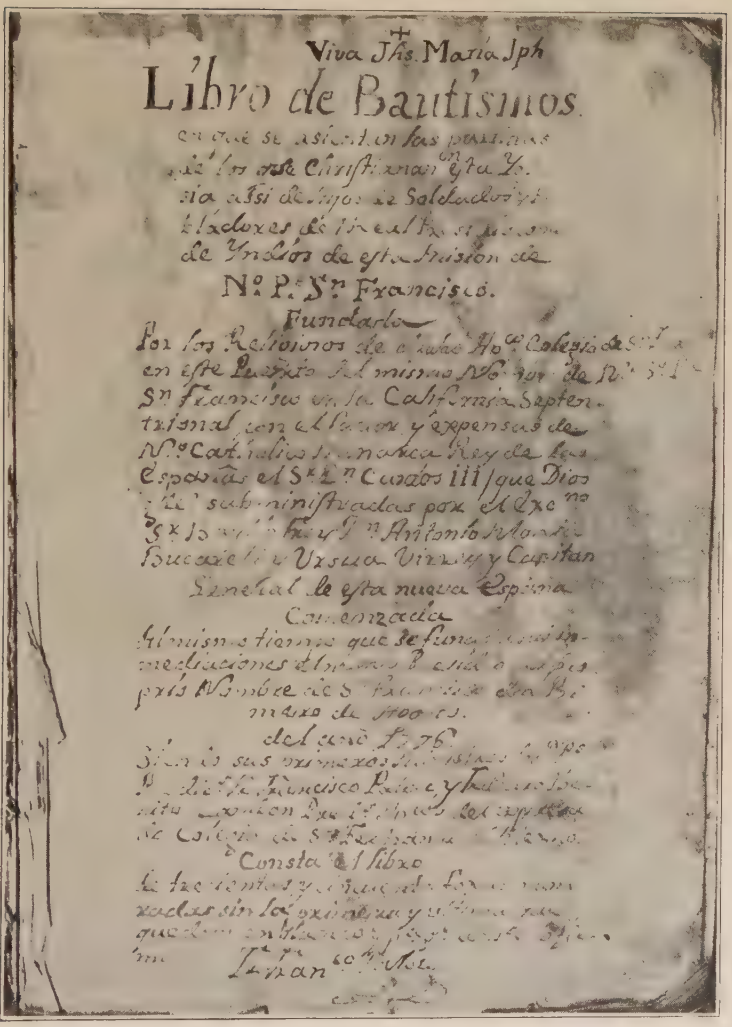
[3] *Vida,* cap. xlv, 214-217.


Viva Jhs. Maria Jph

Libro de Bautismos.

FACSIMILE TITLE PAGE OF THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER, REDUCED TO LESS THAN ONE-FOURTH OF THE ORIGINAL

that, as soon as he should reach Monterey, he would proceed to establish the other Mission.

"On reaching Monterey, Rivera resolved to visit the new presidio at the port of our Father San Francisco," Fr. Palóu writes. "He communicated his plan to the Fathers of Mission Carmelo, and there Fr. Murguia told him that he (Murguia) or Fr. Tomás de la Peña would gladly accompany him to view the site of the second Mission. Rivera agreed, and so the comandante with Fr. Tomás de la Peña set out on the journey. They reached this Mission of our Father San Francisco on November 26th, just as the Angelus Bell sounded. After stopping awhile, he crossed over the hills to the presidio. Next day he came to the Mission in order to see it at leisure. Then he remarked that the location pleased him, as did also that of the presidio, and that he approved of all that Lieutenant Moraga had done. When he was informed of the expedition for the survey of the great river during the month of September, he determined to go and see it himself. Taking the lieutenant along, he set out for the journey on November 29th. They stopped at the Mission for dinner and left there Fr. Peña, telling him that from the river they would ride on directly to Monterey, and when he had arrived there, he (Rivera) would order the soldiers belonging to San Francisco, but who were still at Monterey, to pass on at once to found Mission Santa Clara."

As will be observed, Rivera now appeared very accommodating and friendly, but it was too late for his own prospects. The viceroy had been informed of the unmanly conduct of the officer, and therefore directed him to proceed to Lower California, and to reside at Loreto as lieutenant-governor under Felipe de Neve, who would have his headquarters at Monterey. Nothing came of the survey of the great river, as floods compelled the expedition to return before it had proceeded even as far as the survey of Moraga in September.[4]

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[4] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, cap. xxv, 194-195; *The Missions and Missionaries,* ii, 208-209.

In accordance with the regulations for the administration of Indian Missions, every missionary establishment had to have the following books: 1, Register of Baptism; 2, Register of Marriages; 3, Register of Burials; 4, Register of Confirmations; 5, *Padron,* or Register containing the names, station, etc., of the neophytes; and 6, *Libro de Patentes,* into which were transcribed Circulars of Superiors, Pastoral Letters of the Bishop, and Decrees of the Royal Court. These Registers, except the one recording the Confirmations, contained more or less about three hundred folios or leaves, 11½ by 8 inches in size. They were bound in flexible leather, the cover of one side frequently overlapping the other, where it was fastened by means of two leather strings.

Soon after starting the Mission on the Dolores, Fr. Palóu had occasion to record the Baptisms of two infants of Spanish parentage. As Fr. Presidente Serra had gone to San Diego to establish the Mission destroyed by the savages in November, 1775, Fr. Palóu himself drew up the title pages in conformity with those of the other Missions. The text of the title page of the Baptismal Register in English reads as follows:

Book of Baptisms

"In which the entries are made for those who are baptized in this church, as well the children and settlers of the royal presidio, as the Indians of this Mission of Our Father San Francisco, *Founded* by the Religious of the holy Apostolic College of San Fernando at this Port of the same name of our Father San Francisco in Northern California, through the favor and at the expense of our Catholic Monarch, the King of Spain, Don Carlos III (may God preserve him), supplied by His Excellency Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa, Viceroy and Captain-General of this New Spain, Commenced at the same time that it was founded in the vicinity of the new presidio of the same name of San Francisco, on the first of August, in the year 1776, the first missionaries being the Fathers Francisco Palóu and Pedro

Benito Cambon, Preachers Apostolic of the said College of San Fernando de Mexico. This book contains 350 folios (leaves), which are numbered, not counting the first and the last which remain blank. In witness whereof I have signed.—Fr. Francisco Palóu."

It will be observed that in the text just reproduced, the King of Spain is credited with paying, through the viceroy, all the expenses incurred for founding a Mission. The statement is pure fiction, and no one knew so well as Fr. Palóu himself. All that was needed to begin a Mission and to maintain the two missionaries was derived from the Pious Fund Estates of the Californias. Why then did Fr. Serra, and his successors in the office of Presidente, Fr. Lasuén and Fr. Tápis, down to the founding in 1804 of Mission Santa Inés, the nineteenth in point of time, attribute the honor of contributing the funds for starting a Mission to the King of Spain? Only once, when Fr. Serra drew up the title page of the Registers of Mission San Antonio, the third one, he added the clause (*y de las Obras Pias de la California*), after the name of the King of Spain. Perhaps some one warned Fr. Serra that he might arouse the ire of government officials if he did not vindicate the whole credit to His Majesty. On the expulsion of the Jesuits from Lower California and Mexico, instead of turning over the management of the Pious Fund Estates to their successors, the King of Spain himself took charge of those estates, in other words, confiscated them together with the property of the Jesuits, and thereafter paid from the said Fund to the College Sindico $1000 for the founding of a Mission, when he would be pleased to have the Mission started, and $400 for the annual support of each missionary. In this sense the Fr. Presidente was justified to say in the reports: *at the expense of the King of Spain.* There may have been a government regulation to that effect, but we have not discovered the least allusion to it in any document. At all events, the reader will now be satisfied that the expense of founding a Mission was not borne by the King of Spain.

"It may be fairly stated that the missions of California were from first to last founded and supported by private persons, whose combined gifts formed what has been known as the Pious Fund."[5] This terse and true statement of Bancroft is corroborated by Venégas, the Jesuit historian, who says: "All the Missions of (Lower) California are foundations of private persons, and none was due to aid from the royal treasury."[6] Baegert, who had labored on the peninsula of California, also declares in keeping with the facts: "Hence all the Missions in California, from 1697 to 1768, were not maintained by the Catholic king, but by private persons."[7]

All this applies likewise to the Indian Missions in the State of California founded by Fr. Serra and his companions and their successors; for all were founded and supported from the income of the Pious Fund Estates down to the year 1810, after which period the Missions in California maintained themselves until they were confiscated in 1834.

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[5] Bancrofts, *History of Texas,* vol. i, 441. It would have been well for his reputation as an honest historian if Bancroft had adhered to this just judgment. He would then have disdained to utter a word of approval for the great robbery perpetrated under the name "Secularization." Unfortunately, with a certain class of people it makes all the difference whose ox is gored.

[6] *Noticia de la California,* vol. ii, part iii, 223.

[7] *Nachrichten,* part iii, section iii.

CHAPTER VII

Founding of Santa Clara Mission.—Pueblo of San José.—*The Santiago.*—Fr. Serra Appears at the Mission.—His Desire.—The *Santiago* Again.—Fr. Serra Empowered to Confirm.—First Secular Priest.—*La Favorita* and *La Princesa.*—Captain Bodega's Gift.—A Procession.—Fr. Serra's Remarkable Journey.—His Malady.—Confirms at Santa Clara and San Francisco.—Sad News.—Departure of Ships.—Fr. Serra Returns to San Carlos.

IT has already been noted that Captain Rivera, accompanied by Fr. Tomás de la Peña had come from Monterey on November 26, 1776. After conferring with the Fathers at Dolores the next day, he promised to order the troops, who with their families were still waiting at Monterey, to report to Lt. Moraga at the new presidio so that Mission Santa Clara could be established forthwith. These soldiers and their families arrived at the presidio toward the end of December. Accompanied by Fr. de la Peña, one of the two missionaries destined for the new Mission, Moraga again led the guards and their families out of the presidio on January 5, 1777. They stopped over night at the Mission, and in the afternoon of Epiphany, January 6th, all set out on the march for their destination—the Rio de Guadalupe—where Mission Santa Clara was to be located. They arrived there on the next day. On the spot selected, the Mission Cross was raised and blessed, and in a temporary chapel built for that purpose Fr. de la Peña celebrated the first holy Mass on January 12th, which day thereafter was regarded as the date of the founding of Mission Santa Clara. Fr. José Murguia, the other missionary named for the new Mission, on January 21st, arrived from Monterey at Santa Clara with the church goods, implements, and cattle, escorted by a number of guards. Moraga then returned to his headquarters at the presidio of San Francisco.[1]

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[1] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, cap. xxvi-xxvii; *Vida,* cap. xlvi.

Ten months later, November 7, 1777, by order of Governor Neve, Lieutenant Moraga conducted nine soldiers and five colonists, together with their families who had come from Sonora with Colonel Anza, from the presidio of San Francisco to the Rio Guadalupe. There he assigned lots and lands to each family, and thus laid the foundation for the Pueblo of San José. On account of its proximity to the stream, the town became known as San José de Guadalupe. Details will be found in connection with the history of Mission Santa Clara.[2]

At Mission Dolores, outside the routine, nothing of importance seems to have occurred until May 12, 1777. On that day the supply ship *Santiago* cast its anchor in the port of San Francisco. It was the first vessel to make the voyage from the Mexican seaport San Blas directly to San Francisco Bay. It had left San Blas on March 1st, and reached its destination on the above date without any mishap. Don Ignacio Arteaga was the captain in charge, and Francisco Castro came as pilot. Fr. José Nocedal of the College of San Fernando acted as chaplain. The *Santiago* had on board the supplies for the presidios of San Francisco and Monterey, and for the Missions of San Francisco, Santa Clara, San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luis Obispo. Having discharged the goods of the presidio and the two northern Missions, the vessel weighed anchor on May 27th. Just as the ship had emerged from the channel into the ocean, the wind failed the sailors so that the captain had the anchor cast out opposite the Laguna de la Merced. In the evening, however, the voyage could be resumed for Monterey, where a landing was made on the next day.[3]

Although Fr. Serra had returned from the south to San Carlos in January, 1777, and ardently desired to see the new Mission on San Francisco Bay, a multiplicity of duties

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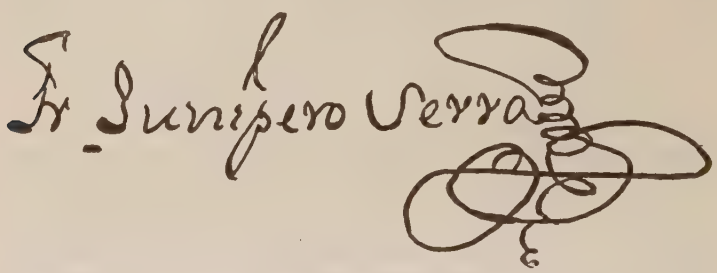
[2] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, cap. xxx; *Vida,* cap. xlvii; *The Missions,* ii, 221-222.

[3] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, 202-203; *The Missions,* ii, 219-220.

detained him till fall. The new governor, Felipe de Neve, had come up to Monterey on February 3rd. In April he visited the new Mission and inspected the presidio. At last the Fr. Presidente found himself free, and so, going by way of the new Mission of Santa Clara, he surprised his former pupil, Fr. Palóu, by arriving at Mission Dolores unannounced late on October 1st. "As the distance is fifteen leagues," Fr. Palóu relates, "and he walked it that day and part of the night, he arrived much fatigued."

"He celebrated at this Mission the feast of Our Holy Father San Francisco, the patron of the Mission, presidio, and port, and the day was observed with all possible solem-



nity. His Reverence sang the High Mass, and during the same he preached to the delight of all, as well of the missionaries, of whom there were four of us,[4] as of the troops of the Mission and presidio, all of the latter, save those necessarily on guard, having come over. Likewise there was much rejoicing among the new Christians, who already numbered seventeen, all adults.

"He tarried at the Mission until October 10th,[5] during which time he rested from his journey of forty-two leagues, the distance from Monterey, and visited the new presidio

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[4] The four were: Fr. Palóu, Fr. Cambon, Fr. Santa Maria, supernumerary, and Fr. de la Peña, who is mentioned in the Baptismal Register as officiating on September 23rd and 25th.

[5] A misprint, apparently, as Fr. Serra baptized at Santa Clara on the 9th.

and the port which he had never seen. When he saw that it was no more possible to proceed farther north without a boat, he burst out into the *Gracias a Dios!* (which very frequently came from his lips). *Already our Holy Father San Francisco with the Cross of the Mission procession*[6] *has reached the extreme end of the continent of California; for to pass on a ship will be needed.*

At this date the "Mission Procession," as Fr. Serra called it, consisted of only eight Missions, and there were long stretches between one and another. The Fr. Presidente had experienced the drawbacks himself, and this made him say: "The Procession of Missions is very much disconnected. To be agreeable to God and men it must march without a break. I have already petitioned for the founding of three Missions on the Santa Barbara Channel. Help me to pray God that we may succeed, afterward we shall labor to fill up the other gaps."

"Thus it was the fervent desire of the venerable prelate," Fr. Palóu remarks, "that all the gentiles who inhabit the two hundred and ten leagues along the coast should be converted so that, the coast being occupied by Missions at proportionate distances, all may fall into the apostolic net, if not in one Mission then in another. In this way, on a grand scale, the children of God and of Holy Church would be increased. Filled with such fervent desires, Fr. Presidente Serra left this Mission and passed on to that of Santa Clara, where he rested a few days, and then retired to his Mission of San Carlos."[7]

As a rule, unless a special courier came overland from Loreto, Lower California, the missionaries received news from the College of San Fernando only once a year. This was due to the irregular intervals in which the supply ships *San Carlos* and *San Antonio* made their voyages. In 1777

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[6] Allusion to a religious procession, always preceded by the Cross.

[7] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlvii, pp. 223-225.

the *Santiago* was added to the fleet, as was noted already. The same vessel a second time arrived in San Francisco Bay on June 17, 1778, and again directly from San Blas, which port it had left on March 8, in command of Captain Juan Manuel de Ayala. The pilots were Francisco Castro and Juan Bautista de Aguirre. Fr. Nocedal once more came along as chaplain. The ship's mail contained a letter from the Fr. Guardian of the College of San Fernando, which was of the highest importance to Fr. Serra and the Missions. The Fr. Presidente was therein notified that he had been empowered by the Holy See to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. When the *Santiago* had landed the freight intended for the presidio and the two northern Missions it departed for Monterey on July 27th. There Fr. Serra embarked for San Diego in order to begin his first Confirmation tour at that Mission.

On June 26, 1779, the *Santiago* arrived and cast anchor in San Francisco Bay, but this time in charge of the first pilot, Don Estévan Martínez, Don José Tobar being the second pilot. Another chaplain had also come along in the person of the Rev. Nicolas de Ibera[8] of the Diocese of Guadalajara. He was the first secular priest to set foot on the shore of San Francisco Bay. The former chaplain, Fr. José Nocedal, had died in the previous year, a few days after reaching Tepic. His remains were interred in the Franciscan convent of Santa Cruz at that place. When the *Santiago* on July 26th began the return voyage, it suffered two accidents which might have resulted seriously. One happened in the channel where, with the bowsprit, it struck the steep rock (cantil); the other just outside the port where the vessel threatened to overturn. The sailors attributed the escape from both perils to the miraculous intervention of the Blessed Virgin. Off Point Año Nuevo the ship was in danger of being dashed on the rocks. At any rate, on reaching Monterey in safety, the crew manifested

[8] *The Missions,* vol. ii, p. 320, has Loera, which is a misprint.

their gratitude to God and His Blessed Mother by having a High Mass of thanksgiving sung at Mission San Carlos.[9]

On September 14, 1779, *La Favorita* entered San Francisco Bay. The officers were Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Cuadra, Lieutenant Francisco Maurelle, as mate, the pilots José Cañizares and Juan Bautista Aguirre, and Chaplain Cristóbal Diaz, a secular priest from Lima, Peru. Next morning *La Princesa* likewise cast her anchor in the bay. Her officers were Captain Fernando Quiros, the pilots José Camacho and Juan Pantoja y Arriaga, and the chaplains Fr. Juan García Riobó and Fr. Matias de Santa Catalina Noriega from the College of San Fernando. Both Spanish vessels had made explorations on the northwest coast as far as Prince William's Sound. Many of both crews were ill with scurvy, which was the reason for entering the bay of San Francisco. The Spaniards brought along three Indian boys and two Indian girls, orphans doubtless whom they had purchased on the voyage. Three of these children were subsequently baptized at Mission Dolores, the other two, for being ten years of age and therefore had first to be instructed, were taken to San Blas.

Captain Bodega of *La Favorita* had on board a precious shrine. It was a large, fine bronze engraving of Our Lady of Help—*Nuestra Señora de los Remedios*—the former titular of his ship, which now sailed under the much shorter name of *La Favorita.* The engraving, a duplicate of the original in Mexico, was encased in a frame of beaten silver and protected by a pane of glass. It was carefully preserved in a niche of cedar wood. In thanksgiving for having escaped from the numerous perils of the voyage[10] the captain decided to part with the treasure and to present it to Mission San Francisco. Fr. Palóu joyfully accepted the gift, and appointed the first Sunday of October, Rosary Sunday, which that year

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[9] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, capp. xxxi-xxxii.

[10] For details see *The Missions,* vol. ii, 322-323.

fell on the eve of the feast of St. Francis, for the solemn function of placing the shrine in the Mission church. Accordingly, a solemn procession was formed on the morning of the memorable day. All the officers and men of the two ships, except the most necessary guards, marched from the landing to the Mission. In their midst, on a sort of litter, the picture was borne by a select guard. On the way all the presidio people, save a few soldiers, joined the procession until it had reached the church. Here the image was received by the Fathers already vested for the High Mass. They entered the sanctuary and placed the shrine above the altar. When all had taken their places Fr. Palóu, assisted by the deacon and the subdeacon, began the holy Sacrifice, during which he preached an appropriate sermon. We infer that Fr. Palóu, the senior missionary in charge, was the celebrant and preacher, because no names are mentioned. To enhance the solemnity, the soldiers occasionally fired their guns. Next day also a solemn High Mass was celebrated and a sermon was preached, after a procession from the landing and the presidio to the Mission, when salvos were fired in honor of the patron saint of the port, presidio, and Mission.

"The two ships remained in the harbor for two months, during which time all the sick recovered and the pilots prepared their maps of the whole coast and its ports," Fr. Palóu writes. "I had the pleasure of baptizing three of the gentile children, whom, as I already said, they secured at the Port of Bucareli.[11] The other two, already somewhat grown up, had first to receive a course of instructions; but, as they could not understand the language spoken here, they went with the ship to San Blas. The officers of the two frigates were anxious to see his Reverence (Fr. Serra); but, as he had written that in the present state of his health he thought he could not make the journey, Captain Fernando Quiros and Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega decided to journey to Monterey,

[11] West of Prince of Wales Archipelago; see *The Missions*, vol. ii, 160.

accompanied by the royal surgeon of the expedition, for the purpose of seeing him there. I took the opportunity of going along with the gentlemen myself in order to see my former beloved teacher. We reached Mission Santa Clara on October 11. At the same hour the venerable Fr. Junípero also arrived there. He had changed his mind suddenly and taken the road to these Missions for the purpose of administering Confirmation. At the same time he wanted to make the acquaintance of the officers of the expedition. Disregarding his malady, therefore, and placing his whole confidence in God, he set out on his journey, but arrived in such a condition that he could not keep on his feet. This was not astonishing, since he had in two days walked twenty-seven leagues. When the gentlemen and the surgeon saw the swelling on his leg and the sore on the foot, they declared that only by a miracle could he have walked at all. At any rate, one thing is certain: his Reverence walked that distance, and so filled us with joy and admiration by arriving at the same time, he coming from the south and we from the north without previous notice from one party or the other. The gentlemen expressed their gratification at seeing his Reverence with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, besides offering the compliments of the commander of the expedition Don Ignacio Arteaga.

"On the following day the surgeon offered to apply some remedy, but his Reverence said: 'It is better that we let it alone until we reach the Mission of our Father, lest it grow worse and so incapacitate me.' So he journeyed afoot as though he had no such malady. What astonished us more was that he immediately prepared to baptize some catechumens. For this he invited the gentlemen to stand as sponsors. They were amazed that his Reverence could be on his feet throughout the function, since, as the captains said, they themselves felt tired, although they were very deeply touched by the devotion with which the Rev. Father performed the holy ceremonies of the Baptism of the Adults.[12]

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[12] The formula for adults is much longer and very beautiful.

"We remained two days at Santa Clara, but on the 14th we started out for this Mission of our Father San Francisco, spending a day and a half walking the fifteen leagues, and so arrived on the 15th. His appearance was the occasion of extraordinary joy and satisfaction for all the people of both land and sea. The Fr. Presidente thanked the commander of the expedition for his thoughtfulness in sending the officers and cordially wished the expedition every success. 'I do not know,' his Reverence said, 'what returns I can make for such kindness. I shall respond by giving Confirmation to all those aboard who have not yet been confirmed, and so you may issue the order that they prepare themselves for it.' This the commander did. On the 21st of said October, therefore, after the High Mass, during which Fr. Serra preached a fervent sermon on the holy Sacrament of Confirmation, he confirmed the Indians as well as Spaniards, and the mariners who had not yet been confirmed. He continued to confirm on three other days so that there might be no one left without Confirmation. He also baptized twelve gentiles and invited the officers to stand sponsors which pleased them very much. He then confirmed them, and likewise he took pleasure in confirming the three recently baptized children from the Port of Bucareli.

"His Reverence was so absorbed in this holy exercise that he forgot his malady entirely; but the surgeons had not forgotten it. However, when they wanted him to put himself under their care, he excused himself by saying that, since he had rested, he felt better; that, inasmuch as the ailment was of many years' standing, it would necessitate a long treatment; and that, as he could remain but a few days, it would be useless to begin the treatment. It would therefore be better to leave it to the Divine Physician.

"When his Reverence had been at this Mission nine days, a courier arrived overland from Lower California with the sad news of the death of His Excellency, Viceroy Bucareli, and of the declaration of war with England. The despatch caused deep sadness to all for having lost so zealous a viceroy.

The lamentable news, together with the announcement of the war, obliged the marine officers to sail as soon as possible for San Blas. The vessels, accordingly, left this port on the last day of October; but the venerable Fr. Presidente stayed at the Mission. To him the death of the great benefactor and protector in the spiritual conquest, Viceroy Bucareli, caused deep sorrow; and with this deep pain (although always trusting to God) my venerable Fr. Presidente left this Mission on November 6th, after he had confirmed all the neophytes. From here the Rev. Father went to Santa Clara, and, after confirming all that had not yet been confirmed, he returned to San Carlos."

Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon, the companion of Fr. Palóu, on account of ill health, received permission from the Fr. Presidente to retire to Mexico in one of the vessels that sailed away on October 30th. Fr. Noriega, who had come up as one of the chaplains of the fleet, took Fr. Cambon's place at Mission Dolores.[13]

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[13] Palóu, *Noticias,* iv, capp. xxxii-xxxiii; *Vida,* cap. xlix.

CHAPTER VIII

Political Changes Detrimental to the Missions.—Neve Forbids Fr. Serra to Confirm.—The Church in Spanish Dominions.—De Croix's and Neve's Assumption.—Double Rations to the Missionaries.—The Purposes.—Annual Stipends.—Neve Discontinues Rations.—His False Reasoning.—Bucareli's Instructions.—Pathetic Reply of Fathers Palóu and Murguia.—Neve's Quibbling.—The Missionaries in a Dilemma.—Fr. Serra's Unanswerable Arguments.—Viceroy Mayoraga Decides in Favor of the Fathers.

IT was with many misgivings that Fr. Presidente Serra observed the various political changes in Mexico at this period, because they seriously affected the welfare of the Missions. The death of Viceroy Bucareli came as a heavy blow. Yet under his successor, Don Martin de Mayorga, the missionary establishments would have fared very well if Mayorga had possessed the same complete jurisdiction over California as his predecessor. Unfortunately California Sonora, Sinaloa, New Mexico which included Arizona, Texas, Nueva Vizcaya, and Coahuila were detached from the immediate rule of the viceroy, and placed under the jurisdiction of a commander general named Teodoro de Croix. This arrangement proved very detrimental to the Missions, because the new political head was not friendly to the missionaries, nor to the methods they employed. The appointment of Felipe de Neve, however, who favored the Religious even less than De Croix, was nothing short of a calamity for the Missions.

"The new governor, who had already quarreled with the Dominicans in Lower California," Fr. Palóu writes, "soon issued orders and drew up regulations which not only hindered the development of the Indian establishments under the Fathers, but were destructive of what had already been accomplished. Prudently and patiently the venerable Father endeavored to make the author of the ill-timed measures comprehend the disastrous consequences for the conversion

and the civilization of the natives; but all the strong reasons which Fr. Serra proposed to the governor possessed so little force to convince and restrain Neve, that instead he every day concocted new schemes and projects to impede the progress of the Missions already founded, notwithstanding that they were making great strides in spiritual and temporal matters. All these measures of which the enemy of souls availed himself to mortify the fervent prelate, the good Father endured with much patience and great interior peace, although they cut him to the quick, and were more painful to him than the sharp arrows which the barbarous and ferocious gentiles could shoot at him. Omitting many instances, which in proof of what has been said might be stated, I shall point out only one, and this only for the purpose of maintaining the historical connection of the narrative."

Fr. Palóu, then, at some length, relates how Governor Neve actually forbade Fr. Serra to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation until he had presented the Original Papal Document empowering him to confirm. As the Fr. Presidente himself had received only a copy, which was certified by the viceroy, but which Neve would not recognize, Fr. Serra refrained from exercising his authority for nearly two years, lest the Indians be impressed with the idea that the governor was supreme in purely spiritual things also. This fear of offending Neve was the real reason why Fr. Serra at first had declined to go to San Francisco at the invitation of the officers of the exploring expedition, as was stated in the preceding chapter. "I leave to the consideration of those who may read this," Fr. Palóu remarks, "what must have been the pain which the fervent heart of the venerable Father experienced. . . . However, offering it all to the Lord, he ceased giving Confirmation, lest he might also be deprived of the right to baptize."

Of course, Neve had no right to interfere with spiritual matters. Nevertheless, such an unwarranted assumption was possible under the wretched union (?) of State and Church as understood and exercised by the rulers of Spain. The

Church, in their conception, was the mere handmaid of the State. If the ministers of Christ yielded to every demand, there would be peace. Even Papal letters addressed to any dignitary or community had to be first presented to the king. If the contents suited him, he would subjoin his royal *pasé;* if not, he might eliminate what disagreed with his notions, or suppress the document entirely. It was an insufferable assumption, and the more intolerable because such rulers claimed membership in the Catholic Church. They could not be ignorant of the fact that the Savior sent His Apostles to preach the Gospel everywhere in His Name, not in the name of any secular ruler, nor subject to the whims of any ruler; and to teach whatsoever He had told them, which included the administration of the Sacraments, also without subjection to any secular authority.

The situation became more aggravating when subordinate officials demanded the same privileges which his Spanish Majesty had arrogated, namely to supervise the ministry of the Church within the limits of their jurisdiction, as was the case in California under Neve. He appeared to have regarded himself as the representative of the king in spiritual things also, and therefore he claimed the same prerogatives in his territory. De Croix, who backed the governor, and Neve were bent on humiliating the Fr. Presidente; but to their chagrin both had to step down from the lofty pinnacle of their conceit, and to content themselves with the declaration of the viceroy that the Original Papal Document empowering Fr. Serra to confirm in California had been duly *paséed* by the king and the viceroy. The whole question has been thoroughly ventilated in volume two of *The Missions,*[1] and will be discussed in the volume on Mission San Carlos, where it caused real embarrassment. At Mission Dolores Neve's impertinence had no other consequence than the loss of one visit from the Fr. Presidente; but ere this trouble arose, Neve's meddlesome mind and his antipathy to the poor missionaries had produced

[1] pp. 301-313.

real distress to the Mission of San Francisco. Hence we shall have to go into particulars on the subject.

Viceroy Bucareli, his Council concurring, on July 23, 1773, promulgated a *Reglamento* (regulation), which was to go into effect on January 1, 1774. According to this Reglamento each Mission in Upper California was to be managed by two Franciscan friars, who were to receive a stipend or allowance of $800 ($400 each) from the Pious Fund Estate, and double rations, also from the Pious Fund, for five years. Double rations for the same number of years were granted to the Fathers also, who, as supernumeraries, were waiting for the founding of their Missions, although for the time being they would receive no stipend or annual allowance. The single ration was computed at one and one-half *reáles*. As a *reál* equaled twelve and one-half cents, the double rations amounted to thirty-seven and one-half cents a day, or $136.89½ cents a year for each of the two friars at a Mission, or $273.79 for both. With this additional allowance, during the first five years, the two Fathers were to maintain six neophyte Indians, who were expected to work about the church and house, and to begin to till the soil, so that from their example the savages might learn how to adapt themselves to a civilized life. For their own needs and for the maintenance of divine worship, the two missionaries received the stipends, which amounted to the munificent sum of $400 each, paid to them annually in the shape of such goods as they might designate. In reality, the allowance granted to the missionaries would amount to $300 or less, because the freight charges would consume the rest. The Spanish kings and the viceroys of Mexico, generally, were kindly disposed towards the missionaries, since they realized that without them the natives could not be kept in peaceful subjection to Spanish rule. They wanted these Religious, who were in the royal service just as well as the soldiers and their officers, treated with the consideration due to their dignity, and to be encouraged in every way possible. The regulations and instructions issued to the governors by the kings and viceroys to that effect were clear. Don Pedro

Fages, military commander of California, for instance, had been instructed to aid the unselfish missionaries without stint. Don Fernando de Rivera, his successor, knowing the will of the king on the subject, had the rations delivered to the Fathers regularly in accordance with the Reglamento. With these facts before him, the intelligent reader will be in a position to understand and judge correctly what follows.

Only twenty months after his arrival at Monterey,[2] October 7, 1778, Don Felipe de Neve, the first resident governor of Upper California, addressed the following communication to the Fathers of San Francisco and Santa Clara:

"The scarcity of provisions at the presidio for the troops, and for others that are attached to it, before fresh supplies may arrive, obliges me to command a suspension of the rations which have been furnished to Your Reverences on account of the need in which Your Reverences stood of the said assistance since the erection of the Missions until the present harvest. Furthermore, as higher authority has not sanctioned the enjoyment of said rations and other aid which Captain Fernando de Rivera allowed for the founding of the last three Missions, I shall direct that in the accounts, the provisions be marked as supplied to Your Reverences until higher authority shall determine otherwise."[3]

It will be noticed that Neve misstates the facts. The rations were not only sanctioned but ordered by the viceroy and his Council. Rivera merely obeyed those orders. Then Neve claims that he suspends the rations on account of scarcity of the supplies, but he is willing to furnish them if paid for by the Fathers, in which case they would not be scarce! The governor was here acting in entire disregard of the plain instructions from the viceroy. Under date of December 25th, 1776, Viceroy Bucareli in a long letter wrote to Fr. Serra: "Governor Felipe de Neve is charged to consult me, and to propose whatever he may deem expedient and necessary to *make your establishments happy;* and he is likewise charged to act *in everything in accord with Your Reverence.*"[4] Neve

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[2] February 3rd, 1777.

[3] *The Missions,* ii, 280-281.

[4] *The Missions,* ii, 217.

had not consulted the viceroy, nor had he acted in accord with the Fr. Presidente as ordered; nor was he aiming to make the Missions happy. Rather, from this out, he was planning and scheming to make the missionaries unhappy and the Missions impossible. For the truth of this statement the reader is referred to volume ii of the *Missions and Missionaries*. Only so much of the full account as concerns Mission San Francisco will be included here, and that much will be sufficient to demonstrate how utterly out of place was Neve as governor of the territory of California..

In their long and exhaustive reply, Fr. Francisco Palóu of Mission San Francisco and Fr. José Murguia of Mission Santa Clara jointly base their claim to the rations on the Reglamento, promulgated by the viceroy on July 23rd, 1773. The viceroy had declared that its provisions should be observed until the king ordained otherwise. The king, the two Fathers point out, had not repealed nor disapproved the Reglamento, it was therefore incumbent upon the governor to abide by its directions and to furnish the rations; to withhold them until the king should order them supplied was not according to the spirit nor the letter of the Reglamento, nor in keeping with the well-known wishes of either the king or the viceroy. The latter had expressly declared that the chief object of Anza's expedition, for instance, was to conduct troops to the Port of San Francisco in order to guard the two Missions to be established there.[5] Surely the royal heart, which was filled with a desire for the propagation of the Faith, did not begrudge the contribution[6] to a few poor missionaries, who had left the

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[5] Galvez and the viceroy repeatedly asserted that the chief object for occupying California was the spread of Religion. The missionaries were the representatives and messengers of Religion. From the treatment they received, especially at the hands of Neve, one must conclude that this claim was not honestly made, or that Neve acted in opposition to the will of the sovereign.

[6] Not from the royal treasury, but from the Pious Fund established by devout benefactors for the sole benefit of the Missions, as the Fathers insist.

facilities of the College, and had voluntarily banished themselves to this corner of the world, solely for the purpose of propagating the Faith and of increasing the number of his Majesty's subjects; and who had labored not only for the Indians but also without compensation for the troops and their families at the presidio, often kept there a whole day. Besides all this, the friars toiled like peons, and to such, at any rate, his Majesty does not refuse the wages and rations from the very royal treasury.[7] Furthermore, the perplexed Fathers plead: "We came to these establishments without other aid than the rations granted to the missionaries, but with the additional burden of having to support with them the six neophyte servants."

Continuing their able statement, Fathers Palóu and Murguia explain that the rations had been granted for the first five years because it was thought that after such a period of time the Missions would be able to raise enough provisions to support themselves and their converts without aid. "We have not, as yet, passed the second year," the Fathers write. "It was not possible to produce enough, because here at Mission San Francisco we had but the six Indians, and at Santa Clara there were in the first half year only three men to help build the church, dwelling, barn, shops, ditches, corrals, and to do the ploughing. The soil had first to be tried out, and so the harvest was still small.

"Moreover, as the object of his Majesty in founding these Missions is the conversion to the Faith and the subjection to the Royal Crown of all the gentiles with a view to civilize them, there must be wherewith to attract them to the catechetical instructions, and wherewith to feed them during the period of instruction. After they have been baptized, they must be maintained at the Mission in community in order to civilize them. For all this time is required and prudence must be exercised.

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[7] The Fathers actually labored in the fields to encourage the Indians; yet, what was granted to peons, was denied to the missionaries!

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO OR DOLORES (*Etching by Borein*)

"In the first year, as we had only these rations, we could do nothing more than with kindness and some small gifts attract the Saniles Indians who would visit us, and baptize those who were *in articulo mortis*. When we saw the little fields that had been planted giving us some hopes, we were encouraged to baptize a few boys; but when we observed how small the crop would be, we had to restrain our desires. In order to maintain the small number of Christians we had, and to baptize those most advanced in Christian doctrine, it became necessary that Your Honor should aid this Mission with twelve *fanégas* (20 bushels) of corn. With this and the little harvested the second year was passed. When we observed that the fields offered some prospects of a harvest, we increased the number of Christians; but we have seen that the yield of wheat has not reached half the quantity expected. Beans have not yielded enough seed for planting. As to the corn, which is still in the field, it is exposed to much damage from worms, moles, birds, stealing, and, what is worse, from frosts, which even this very morning killed two portions of a little field. Hence we shall not be able to support the new Christians, nor those who are actually under instruction and nearly ready for Baptism which they anxiously desire. We shall be much less able to maintain them if the succor from the rations fail us. The result will be that we cannot baptize them, which would be very painful to us. Therefore, lest we be held responsible at the Tribunal of God for having kept silent, we have taken the trouble to write to Your Honor at such length.

"We now conclude by saying that our Seraphic Rule and our Apostolic Institute command that we subsist in the Missions on the alms of benefactors. For this reason we have been assigned *from the Pious Fund destined for the propagation of the Faith what the Reglamento indicates*. Therefore we supplicate Your Honor, with due submission, for the love of God, for the sake of His holy Mother, and for the sake of our holy Father San Francisco, not to permit us to be deprived of said alms, which we ask not for ourselves, but

for the propagation of the Faith. It is for this that we have dropped the natural shame which the begging of alms causes, and which permits us to be importunate. We are moved to this by the examination, which we two made before we began this letter, of the amount of provisions which the royal warehouse contained before it received the cargo which the frigate brought up. If we have not erred in the estimate, the supplies will last to the end of June[8] for the use of the troops and for all depending on the presidio, the rations for the missionaries included. Some flour we have not taken into account. Therefore we repeat the supplication in the name of all, and we beg Your Honor to command the keeper of the warehouse to deliver to us said rations, a favor for which we hope to see Your Honor receive the reward in heaven through the intercession of our holy Father San Francisco."[9]

In response to this humble and pathetic petition of Fathers Palóu and Murguia, Neve under date of November 5, 1778, wrote from Monterey, that the provisions of the Reglamento and the orders issued to Captain Rivera on the subject applied to the first five Missions only. These were San Diego, San Carlos, San Antonio, San Gabriel, and San Luis Obispo. The three established since January 1, 1774, were San Francisco, San Juan Capistrano, and Santa Clara.

Neve merely quibbled; for the instructions of the viceroy and the intent of the king himself were clearly in favor of the Missions. Neither made any distinction, and therefore it ill became the governor to discrimnate. Rivera, though not friendly to the Fathers, had never made any distinction, but had the rations issued in accordance with the letter of the Reglamento. If Neve had any doubts, the right way would have been to inquire of Viceroy Bucareli, and meanwhile to let the rations go to the missionaries as they went to the soldiers

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[8] The Fathers were dating the document on October 12, 1778. It must have been galling to Neve to find himself corrected thus.

[9] The original in the Santa Barbara Archives covers ten closely written folio pages in the hand of Fr. Palóu.

and immigrants. If the missionaries of San Francisco were not entitled to the double rations on the ground that this Mission was founded after January 1, 1774, on what ground were the double rations (granted at the same time with those allowed the missionaries) continued to the soldiers and immigrants of the presidio, which likewise was established after that date, and for the sake of the Mssions?

To the quibbling of the governor the Fathers on December 1st merely replied that there was no scarcity of supplies in the warehouse, and so renewed the petition for the rations which they badly needed. His pretext having been shown without basis, Neve under date of December 6, 1778, stated that he had written to the Fr. Presidente, and that on the latter's return from the southern Missions, he would discuss the matter with him; that as he had learned there were sufficient supplies at the warehouse, lest the Fathers suffered the least want, he would order provisions to be issued to them. The two missionaries must have heaved a sigh of relief at reading the gracious words, but they were soon disillusioned. "Rest assured, Your Reverences," Neve continued, "that I desire nothing so much as the well-being of your Missions and the progress of the spiritual conquest to which I shall always contribute in as far as it is left to my judgment. Let not what has been said before embarrass you. If in the meantime Your Reverences need supplies, I shall let them be given with the qualification *supplied",* i. e. advanced and charged.[10]

That was a queer way of assisting. As the Fathers had no means, it is not clear how Neve expected them to make payment. They had come to California absolutely penniless. They had been placed on some sandy or other uncultivated plot of land; and they had been told to put up a church and dwelling and to procure implements, church goods, and other articles with the thousand dollars assigned for the erection of a Mission. This they had done. Now they had to live and the servants had to be supported. Huts for the

[10] "deje de darse con la calidad de suplimiento."

Indian converts had to be erected, and the Indians had to be induced to join the Mission, and to set themselves to work, something which they hated. Nevertheless, the missionaries possessed naught wherewith to attract or compensate the Indians save their own meager allowance, and the rations which Neve refused unless they were paid! Until the fields yielded sufficient grain, there was absolutely nothing on which to subsist. The double rations had been granted for the very purpose of maintaing the six neophyte Indians, whom the Fathers had brought along to help them win converts and do the necessary house work. Without any authority from the viceroy, Neve cut off this means of compensating the Indians, and then claimed he desired nothing so much as the progress of the Missions! He went even farther. "He wrote to us", Fr. Palóu informed Governor Fages on January 8, 1783, "that we should pay for what we had received in the two incomplete years that followed the erection of the Mission!"[11]

Fr. Serra had an interview with the governor, and then in a long letter to him set forth the question at issue so clearly that Neve apparently found no answer.[12] The Fr. Presidente closed his splendid argument as follows: "The viceroy has expressly declared that he would assist the Missions in every way possible, which did not mean simply by furnishing guards. The rations and other aid during the first five years must be regarded as alms only, and cannot be withheld in the face of the Reglamento. At all events, to refuse them to the two northern Missions meant nothing less than to retard the conversion of the Indians in opposition to the king and viceroy, who both ardently desired to facilitate and accomplish the spiritual conquest of the savages!"

The Fr. Presidente then reported the grievances of the missionaries to the College. The Fr. Guardian laid the matter

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[11] "Que debiamos pagar la que habiamos recibido en los dos años no cumplidos que llevaba de fundada esta Mision."—*The Missions and Missionaries,* ii, 280-286.

[12] *The Missions,* ii, 287.

before Viceroy Mayorga, who, after examining the case, wrote to General de Croiz, to whose immediate jurisdiction California unfortunately belonged:

"It seems that this expense, which the royal treasury (Pious Fund rather) will incur by granting the double rations to the five Missions already established, as also to the three lately founded, is so small, and the benefit is so great, which will result in the progress which His Majesty so much desires in New and Old California by having the missionaries cheerful, since they are the ones who have to procure the advancement, the delivering of the double rations to them should be continued, as has been done *in virtue of the resolution in the Reglamento,* with the exception of those that raise enough grain, for the maintenance of the Religious and their neophytes. I hope, General, that you will so direct in consideration of the benefits which may be expected from the measure."[13]

This sensible and equitable decision of the viceroy very much displeased De Croix. He appealed to the king, who for some reason that was not disclosed but may be guessed, through Don José de Galvez decided that the three Missions were not entitled to the rations. The information reached Fr. Serra on September 23, 1782. By that date the five years had already elapsed, and the rations would have been discontinued any way. So De Croix and Neve could celebrate but an empty triumph. In view of the fact that both had suffered a bitter defeat but shortly before on the question of Fr. Serra's authority to confirm, it may have been intended as a balm by the king and Galvez.

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[13] *The Missions,* ii, 287-291.

CHAPTER IX

Neve's Hostility Manifested.—Fr. Murguia Offers Samples.—New Scheme to Harass the Missionaries.—The *Santiago*.—Fr. Serra and Fr. Crespi at the Bay.—Laying of Cornerstone to Church.—Fresh Supplies at Last.—Fr. Serra's Last Visit to Mission Dolores.

HOW the missionaries and their converts fared at San Francisco and Santa Clara after Neve had refused the rations, we have no means of ascertaining, because the local reports do not begin till the year 1783. In a note to the hostile governor's letter of December 6, 1779, however, Fr. Palóu remarks: "He (Neve) wrote to the storekeeper (at the presidio) that, if we asked for corn or beans, he should give them to us even if it were four fanégas (nearly seven bushels) of the latter and ten fanégas (about sixteen bushels) of the former." That sounded gracious, but was anything rather than gracious, because these supplies were charged to the Mission; nay, as was shown in the preceding chapter, Neve wanted the cost of the provisions supplied to the San Francisco and Santa Clara Missions during the first two years of their existence refunded!

Neve was not satisfied with crippling the activities of the friars by taking away the rations, which served to maintain their six Indian laborers and servants. "A few days after depriving us of the rations," Fr. Palóu wrote to Governor Fages, "he sent an order to the corporal of the Mission guards that his men should not care for the few horses which the Mission possessed, and which ran along with the horses of the soldiers, because they were under no obligation to do so. For this reason the horses are now running about at the mercy of the savages, so that it costs us much trouble to find some one who will bring us a horse in order that we may hear confessions and celebrate holy Mass *at the presidio*."[1]

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[1] Palóu to Gov. Fages, January 8, 1783; *The Missions*, ii, 291-292.

It is difficult to see what trouble the few horses could be to the idle guards. They very probably were glad to offer this little courtesy to the Fathers, who without compensation attended to the spiritual needs of the distant presidio men and their families. It is also difficult to understand what more Neve could have done to prevent the conversion of the savages, short of driving away both Indians and missionaries. He was certainly making their stay at Dolores very unpleasant. Yet this man had the hardihoood to claim that he "desired nothing so much as the progress of the Missions!"

How little Neve cared for the success of the Missions, so dear to the heart of noble Viceroy Bucareli, and how little he appreciated the heroic efforts of the unselfish missionaries, may be gathered from a letter of Fr. Pablo de Mugártegui of San Juan Capistrano, which with San Francisco and Santa Clara had been sentenced by Neve to make restitution for the rations received in the first two years, as Fr. Murgártegui half jocosely puts it. Under date of March 15, 1779, he enumerates some instances of the governor's singular affection for the friars and their wards. "I have already intimated to you the little regard which our governor has for the Religious. He demonstrates it with words, and then with works and words. It was a soldier, not an ordinary person, to whom he gave a rule of conduct which was as short as it was remarkable. They should never be *fraileros* (friendly or devoted to the friars); *nor should they endeavor to gratify or give pleasure to the friars.*[2]

"To another guard, who was holding a horse which Fr. Dumetz had asked him to bridle, Neve gave orders to take it away and to keep it. When the soldier answered that he would not do this because he regarded such action as stealing, Neve repeated the command, and then gave him a severe public reprimand because, notwithstanding that they (guards) at

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[2] "que nunca sean fraileros, ni se metan en complacer, ni dar gusto á Frailes."

every turn were slighted by the Fathers,[3] they took no offense and continued to favor them.

"Consider, dear Sir, what maxims these are in a country like this for these poor soldiers, who in everything else give us their sympathy. We have always praised in them their attentive and reverent conduct toward the missionaries, and this has contributed much to teaching the Indians; but if this (example) is lost, I do not know what evil consequences may not result.

"On account of these friendly soldiers, certain decrees have been issued. One is, that no soldier should catch or bridle a horse that belongs to the Mission, nor should any one deal or have any transaction with the Fathers.[4] Another is, that a crime against the Sixth Commandment should not be punished except as a matter of form (for formality's sake).[5] Another decree was, that the drafts in favor of the Fathers should not be paid except on a special order from the commander of the presidio to the storekeeper, and these orders should not be given except in urgent cases and with various precautions."[6]

Yet Neve claimed that he desired nothing so much as the progress of the Missions! For more details on Governor

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[3] Which was manifestly untrue. Neve seems to have been jealous of the popularity of the missionaries at this period. It seems he himself stood in no great esteem with the soldiers, for Fr. Mugártegui enumerates by name the soldiers who deserted from Monterey, San Diego, San Gabriel, and two even of San Francisco presidio.

[4] "que ningun soldado toma ni arrienda bestia que pertenezca à Mision, ni trate ni conmute con Padres." Neve was bent on placing enmity between the Fathers and the soldiers, whereas he should have encouraged friendship, since the Fathers and the soldiers practically lived in the same yard or block. What must the neophytes have thought of such idiotic orders? Bucareli, on the other hand, had commanded that the missionaries should be treated with the reverence due to their dignity.

[5] That was opening the door wide to lawlessness. Even as it was, many of the soldiers committed criminal offences not tolerated in civilized society, and thus nullified the endeavors of the missionaries.

[6] Fr. Mugártegui, *Carta, Museo Nacional,* Doc. rel. á las Mis. de California. Qto. ii.—Courtesy of Prof. Bolton, University of California.

Neve's aims to cripple the work of the missionaries, see *The Missions*, ii, pp, 327-349. The Fathers had a right to expect a degree of sympathy and encouragement, or at least no opposition, from a coordinate department of the Spanish government in California; for the missionaries were by no means subject to the governor in controlling the spiritual and temporal affairs of their neophytes, but only to the king or the viceroy. No encouragement ever came from Felipe de Neve. The missionaries looked for no worldly compensation; they nourished their zeal for souls at the altar daily, and expected retribution from above; but they were human; it would have helped the service of the king to accord with the meed of cheer which good Viceroy Bucareli never denied them, instead of seeking, as did Neve, to humiliate and victimize them.

It would seem that Neve had determined to provoke quarrels with the missionaries. At any rate, about the time when he refused the customary rations to the Fathers of San Francisco, he was big with another scheme which he knew must embarrass the friars. He demanded that the neophytes at every Mission should from their own number elect two *alcaldes,* or magistrates, and two *regidores* or councilmen, in order to accustom the neophytes to self-government. These officials were to have a certain measure of control, and they were to be exempt from corporal puishment. When it is remembered that at San Carlos the first Christian Indian had emerged from the most degraded barbarism only eight years before, and at San Francisco only two years previously, one cannot but wonder at the proposition. As a piece of boy's play it might have passed, and the Fathers themselves would have enjoyed the antics of the childish Indians playing at government; but to make it a law was folly. The neophytes, as yet, were no more capable of governing themselves, much less a whole community, than a band of overgrown, unruly schoolboys. The provision in the plan that these officials should be free from corporal punishment aggravated the difficulties of the missionaries, because such officials would surely abuse their exemp-

tion from punishment, and cause the gravest disorders in the community.

Although Viceroy Bucareli had informed Fr. Serra: "Governor Felipe de Neve is charged to consult me and to propose whatever he may deem expedient and necessary to make these establishments happy, and he is likewise charged to act in everything in accord with Your Reverence,"[7] Neve had not consulted the viceroy on the subject of alcaldes any more than on any other point that concerned the Missions; nor had he made plans in accord with the Fr. Presidente. As he insisted on the execution of his unwise order, *Alcaldes* and *regidores* were appointed at all the Missions. Notwithstanding the precautions taken by advice of the Fr. Presidente, the consequences were even worse than he had feared. Writing to Fr. Lasuén, less than five months after the innovation, Fr. Serra says "that the alcades are much puffed up and regard themselves as lords. The one at the Mission of San Carlos has not yet gone out of his cotton pants and his blanket, nevertheless he already complains to His Honor."[8] To Neve himself Fr. Serra wrote: "Alcalde Nicolas of San Gabriel, I am informed, provides women for as many soldiers as want them. At San Luis Obispo the Indian alcalde seized another Indian's wife, fled with her and staid with her for some time until caught. Only at San Antonio, it seems, there is no trouble with the alcalde and regidores; but they are human, and so we know not what will happen tomorrow."[9] On the conditions at San Francisco we have no details. When the governor learned that his unauthorized plan resulted in nothing but disorder, and that the Fr. Presidente was forcing him to shoulder the responsibility, he thought it prudent to keep silent, which Fr. Serra interpreted as meaning that he allowed the missionaries to follow their own judgment on the subject. Accordingly, the

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[7] *The Missions,* ii, 217.

[8] *The Missions,* ii, 340.

[9] Fr. Serra to Neve, January 7, 1780; *The Missions,* ii, 341-344.

alcaldes and regidores were annually elected under the eyes of the missionaries, but they enjoyed little more than the title.

Mission San Francisco, in the first years of its existence, appeared destined to encounter various difficulties. It was now called upon to face and endure another vexation. Owing to the war between Spain and England, the supply ship *Santiago* could not leave the harbor of San Blas till June, 1780, and finally cast anchor in the harbor of Monterey on October 7th. It was in charge of the first pilot, Don Estévan Martínez. The second pilot was Don José Tobar, and the Rev. Miguel Dávalos, a secular priest from Guadalajara, is named as chaplain. The vessel carried the *memorias,* that is to say the goods designated by the missionaries, and paid for from the annual allowance of $400, for the Missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara. It also had on board for Mission Dolores one hundred fanégas of corn and eight fanégas of brown sugar which Fr. Cambon had purchased with the money allowed him for acting as chaplain on one of the voyages to the Philippine Islands. It seems the commander of the *Santiago* feared to be waylaid by the English, and therefore refused to deliver the freight at San Francisco Bay. When he had landed his cargo at Monterey, he hastened southward to San Diego, and thence sailed for San Blas. The Fathers were therefore compelled to send pack mules to Monterey, forty-five leagues distant, for the goods which should have been put on shore at the presidio landing. The missionaries were content to receive the supplies at the cost of so much labor and trouble; for, as Fr. Palóu reports, in the following year, 1782, the transport failed to appear at all because, on trying to sail out, the *Santiago* found the harbor of San Blas blockaded. Much distress was caused in the Mission as a consequence. The Indian community at Mission Dolores consisted of nearly two hundred souls, but Fr. Palóu, who was in charge, says nothing at all about the conditions of his charge at this time.

Fr. Matias Noriega, Fr. Palóu's companion, at the beginning of the month of August, 1781, went to celebrate the feast

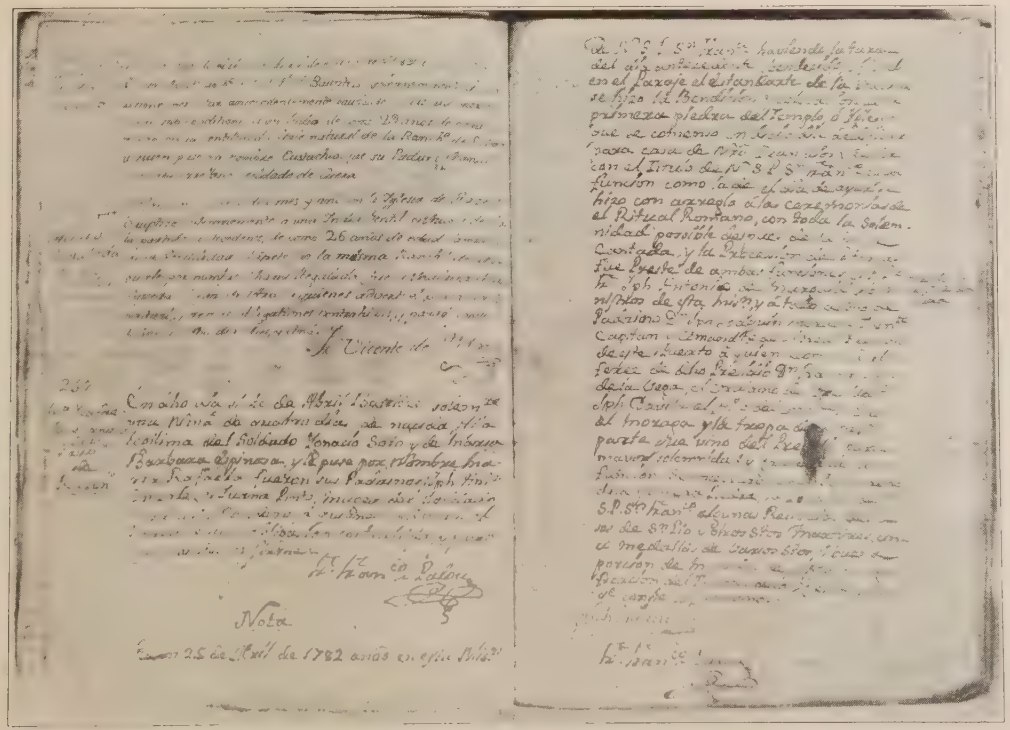
of the patron saint at Santa Clara. While there he determined to visit Monterey, which he had not yet seen. Fr. Serra then took him along to Mission San Antonio, where the Fr. Presidente administered the Sacrament of Confirmation. Returning to San Carlos at the beginning of October, they celebrated the feast of St. Francis at this Mission. Fr. Serra then decided to visit the two northern Missions for the purpose of confirming those who had been baptized since his last appearance there. Fr. Juan Crespi, desirous of visiting the two Missions which he had not yet seen, offered to accompany the Fr. Presidente, who gladly acceded to his request. Leaving Fr. Matias to take Fr. Crespi's place at San Carlos, Fr. Serra and his companion set out for Mission Dolores, and arrived there on October 28th. Fr. Crespi had ample time to view the region which he had approached in company of Gaspár de Portolá in November, 1769; for the Fr. Presidente was kept busy instructing and confirming till November 9th. During this period Fr. Serra confirmed sixty-nine persons. "I was exceedingly glad to see my beloved fellow disciple, Fr. Juan Crespi, who it seems, came up for the purpose of bidding me farewell for this life," Fr. Palóu says. "Both left for Mission Santa Clara, filling my heart and theirs, too, with grief; for the pain of saying farewell was quite as great as the joy with which I welcomed them on their arrival. A few days after reaching his Mission of Carmelo, Fr. Juan Crespi fell grievously ill. Realizing that God was calling him to the other world, he prepared himself by receiving the holy Sacraments, and then delivered his soul to its Maker on January 1st, 1782, at the age of sixty years and ten months. He had labored thirty years in the Indian Missions, that is to say, sixteen years among the Pame Indians of the Sierra Gorda, where he endeavored to imitate his beloved master and teacher, Fr. Junípero Serra, one year at Mission Purisima Concepcion, Lower California, and the remaining years in Upper California." There was more need of three Fathers at San Carlos than at San Francisco, Fr. Palóu remarks, wherefore Fr. Nor-

iega remained at San Carlos after the death of Fr. Crespi.[10]

Fr. Palóu must have possessed an indomitable courage to begin a most important work at a time when all California was suffering from the lack of provisions. However, his neophyte family was growing, and doubtless Fr. Serra had approved the plan when at Mission Dolores during November, 1781. What appears strange about the matter is that neither in his *Vida* nor in his *Noticias* Fr. Palóu makes any mention of what was going on at the Mission in 1782. Fortunately, the memory thereof is perpetuated in the Baptismal Register of the Mission, where after entry No. 259, April 7, 1782, we find the following precious item in the hand of Fr. Palóu:

"*Nota.* On April 25, 1782, in this Mission of our Holy Father San Francisco, the Standard of the Holy Cross having been placed on the spot and blessed on the previous day, occured the blessing and laying of the first stone for the temple or church, which on said day began building as the house of our God and Lord under the title of our Holy Father San Francisco. This function, like that of the day before, was performed in conformity with the ceremonies of the Roman Ritual, with all possible solemnity, after the High Mass and the Procession of the Litanies. There were present, at both functions, the Rev. Fr. Joseph Antonio de Murguia, missionary of the Mission of Santa Clara, and the missionaries of this Mission of San Francisco. Likewise at all functions the lieutenant and commander of the royal presidio of this port, Don Joseph Joaquin Moraga, assisted as Patron (sponsor). He was accompanied by Don Ramón Lazo de la Vega, the ensign of said presidio, Don Joseph Dávila, the surgeon of the presidio, Don Gabriel Moraga, the son of the commander, the guards of the Mission, and a portion of the troops that came from the presidio for the greater solemnity and dignity of the function. Into the sepulcher (pit) of the said first stone were placed the image of our Holy Father San Francisco, some relics from the bones of St. Pius and

[10] *Noticias,* iv, 224-226; *Vida, chapter* fifty.



FACSIMILE OF THE RECORD OF THE CORNER-STONE LAYING FOR THE PRESENT MISSION CHURCH OF DOLORES, AND THE ENTRIES IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING IT. REDUCED TO LESS THAN ONE-FOURTH THE ORIGINAL SIZE

other holy martyrs, five medals of various saints, and a good portion of silver money to signify the Treasures of the Church. In witness whereof we sign: Fr. Joseph Antonio Murguia, Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria, Fr. Francisco Palóu, Don Joseph Moraga."

No sail appeared in the harbor, and no supplies arrived, till June 2, 1783, almost two years after receiving the last provisions by way of Monterey when the *Santiago* cast her anchor there. Martinez was still called first pilot. The second pilot this time was Don Juan Pontoja, and the Rev. José Nava, of the Diocese of Guadalajara, came as chaplain. A welcome addition to the Missions was Fr. Juan García Riobó, of the College of San Fernando, who came along as passenger. On the same June 2nd appeared the *Favorita* in command of Captain Juan Bautista Aguirre. Her pilot was José Tobár, and the chaplain was the Rev. José Villaverde of the Diocese of Guadalajara. With her came another Father for the Missions, Fr. Diego Nóboa. The two Fathers brought many letters and more news, which of course greatly interested the missionaries, as they had had no information from Mexico since the *Santiago* landed at Monterey two years previously. The *Santiago* this time sailed away on July 5th for Monterey,[11] and the *Favorita* followed on the next day. With this information Fr. Palóu closes the fourth and last volume of the *Noticias*. Hereafter we shall have to depend on the various official reports for light on the activities of the missionaries.

Good Fr. Serra's career was drawing to a close, and the venerable old man knew it full well. In spite of his infirmities and voluntary mortifications, he had reached the Scriptural age of threescore and ten years; but now the maladies so patiently borne for more than thirty years had nearly exhausted his vitality. By the end of 1783 he had completed a farewell visit to the Missions south of San Carlos. In the spring of 1784, he resolved to exercise his authority to

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[11] Palóu, *Noticias*, iv.

administer Confirmation once more in the northern Missions, and then to prepare to render his account to the Creator.

Leaving San Carlos at the end of April, 1784, Fr. Serra arrived at Mission Santa Clara probably on May 1st. At all events, in his personal Confirmation Register the Fr. Presidente relates that on May 2nd, the Third Sunday after Easter, and the feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph, after High Mass, during which he usually preached, he bestowed the Sacrament of Confirmation. On the next day, Fr. José Antonio Murguia, the senior missionary in charge, fell grievously ill. When therefore Fr. Serra on May 4th confirmed others who had been made ready, his only attendant was Fr. Tomás de la Peña. On these two occasions 225 Indian children and adults received the Sacrament of the Holy Ghost.

In the afternoon of May 4th, the Fr. Presidente took the road for Mission Dolores, which he reached probably in the evening of the next day; for the scrupulous Religious would always travel afoot, as the Rule of St. Francis prescribed, unless the old sore on his left leg pained him more than usual, and compelled him to use a donkey in order to reach his destination. When he informed Fr. Palóu that Fr. Murguia lay grievously ill at Santa Clara, Fr. Palóu hastened to the bedside of the dying friar, and remained with him until he passed to his reward on May 11th.

Meanwhile, assisted by Fr. Pedro Cambon, Fr. Serra instructed and prepared those to be confirmed. "On May 9, 1784, the Fourth Sunday after Easter," he notes in his personal register, "in the church of the Mission of our holy Father St. Francis at the port of the same name, at the conclusion of the Mass which I sang, I confirmed, etc." On this occasion and on the following days to May 13th, the Fr. Presidente confirmed in all 146 Indian children and adults, including a few infants from the presidio. "I on the same day, May 13th, set out for the Mission of Santa Clara," Fr. Serra concludes his entry, and that is all we know about his last visit to Mission Dolores.

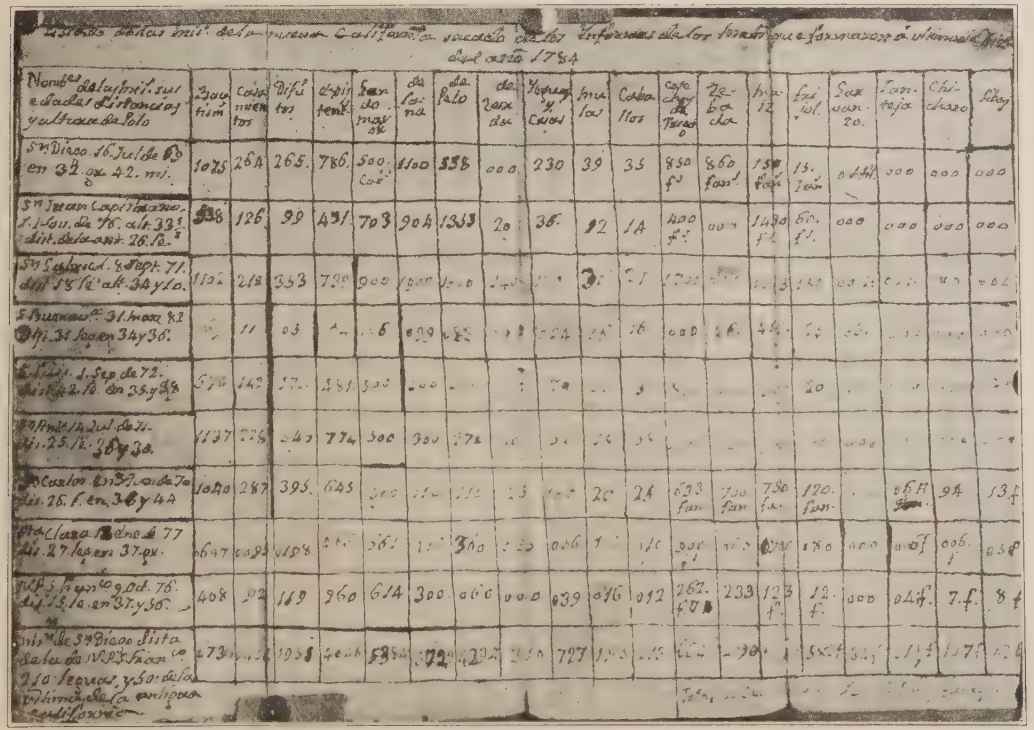
CHAPTER X

Governor Fages and Family at Mission Dolores.—Official Reports.—Death of Noble José J. Moraga.—His Successors.—The Presidio and Its People.—Governor Fages on Mission Dolores and the Missionaries in General.—The Mission Church.—George Vancouver and His Observations.—At the Mission.—The Neophytes.—The Church.—Methods of the Fathers.

A PLEASANT incident was the visit at Mission Dolores of Governor Pedro Fages, styles lieutenant-colonel in the baptismal entry, with his wife Doña Eulalia Celis. On August 4, 1784, an infant daughter of both, Maria del Carmen, was baptized by Fr. Palóu. It is No. 391 in the Mission Register. Captain Nicolas Soler stood sponsor. Shortly after, Fr. Palóu, at the request of Fr. Serra, proceeded to Mission San Carlos in order to assist his Superior to prepare for the death which occurred on the 28th of the same month. Fr. Palóu later returned to Mission Dolores, but now as presidente *ad interim* of the Missions, and continued in charge till about the end of the month, when he departed for Mission San Carlos. His last entry in the Baptismal Register of San Francisco is dated July 25, 1785.[1] Fr. Miguel Giribet then came to Dolores, and for the first time baptized on September 10, 1785.

With the year 1784 began the official annual reports on the Missions of California. The local missionaries would draw up their accounts in duplicate, retain one copy at the respective Mission, and send the other to the Fr. Presidente. From these the Fr. Presidente would make out a general report in tabular form, but in triplicate. One copy would go to the governor for the government in Mexico, one was sent to the College of San Fernando, Mexico, and the third copy would be filed away in the archives of the Missions in charge of the Fr. Presidente. Fr. Palóu drew up the first of these prescribed reports on December 31, 1784, as the copy in fac-

[1] For the death and funeral of Fr. Serra, see *The Missions,* vol. ii, 396.



FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT ON THE MISSIONS. BEGINNING WITH SAN DIEGO, THE DISTANCES ARE SPECIFIED AS FAR AS SAN FRANCISCO. REDUCED TO ABOUT ONE-HALF THE SIZE OF THE ORIGINAL

simile shows. These priceless documents are almost complete in the Mission Archives of Santa Barbara down to the year 1832. Only the years 1789, 1825, are missing.

Before his departure for Monterey, Fr. Palóu on July 15, 1785, conducted the funeral services for the founder and first commander of the presidio of San Francisco, Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga, who had died at ten o'clock in the night of July 13th. It was Fr. Palóu's last entry in the Burial Register of the Mission, where it bore No. 141. Moraga had received all the Sacraments. The first commander of the presidio had come with Colonel J. B. Anza, which is all that is known about his antecedents. His wife was Maria del Pilár de Leon y Barcelo, who died in October, 1808. The body was interred in the Mission cemetery. "His record as an officer was an honorable and stainless one," writes Bancroft. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of his two immediate successors, Diego González and José Ramon Lasso de la Vega, especially the first named. They served in turn till June, 1787, when Ensign José Darío Argüello of Santa Barbara was made lieutenant, and directed to take charge of the presidio. In this position he continued till March, 1791, and again from April, 1796, to July, 1806. During the interval Ensign Hermenegildo Sal was acting commandante till the middle of 1794, and Ensign José Pérez Fernandez from that period till the spring of 1796. In 1787, when Argüello took command, the garrison consisted of thirty-four men besides the officers. From fifteen to twenty of these served in the presidio, while the rest did guard duty at the Missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara, and at the pueblo of San José. With their families the presidial population thus amounted to about one hundred and thirty souls.[2]

"Of the presidio buildings," writes Bancroft, "there is nothing to be said beyond the fact that from want of timber, bad quality of adobes, and lack of skilful workmen no permanent progress was made during the decade. Some portion of the

[2] For details see Bancroft, vol. i, 470-471.

walls was generally in ruins, and the soldiers in some cases had to erect the old-fashioned palisade structures to shelter their families. Local events as recorded were neither numerous nor very exciting. The natives gave no trouble save by the rare theft of a horse or cow, for which offense they were chastised once or twice in 1783; and in 1786 neophytes were arrested and flogged for ravages among the soldiers' cattle. These cattle became so numerous as to be troublesome, and slaughter was begun as early as 1784 to reduce the number to eight or nine hundred. Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva had over fifty head. He was ordered to remove the surplus where they would not interfere with the Mission herds. Captain Nicolas Soler complained much of the bad climate of the place, and even advocated its abandonment; but in the eyes of higher officials the importance of the location on San Francisco Bay, and the duty of protecting the Mission, outweighed the peculiarities of the peninsular climate."[3]

The presidio people assisted at holy Mass on Sundays and other days of obligation by riding or walking the distance of a league to the Mission. One reason was that the Fathers refused to celebrate holy Mass in a place which was unfit for the purpose. When in February, 1787, however, the soldiers and settlers had completed a suitable chapel, the Fathers would occasionally celebrate the Divine Mysteries there. Another reason for the refusal was the declaration of the hostile Neve that the missionaries were obliged *in justice* to celebrate holy Mass at the presidio. The Fathers, on the other hand, insisted that they had come for the sake of the Indians. They were not chaplains to white people. If they attended to the soldiers and their families, they did so out of pure charity on such days when they could be spared at the Mission. This, of course, had no reference to sick-calls and the like, which they would obey at all times. Furthermore, it was easier for the presidio people to come to the Mission than it was for the overburdened missionaries to go

[3] Bancroft, i, 472-473.

to the presidio. At all events, it was the duty of the government to provide a salaried chaplain for the presidio, as it did for transport-ships.

In 1787 Governor Fages visited all the Missions and reported the condition of each one to the viceroy. With reference to Mission San Francisco he wrote as follows: "The Mission of San Francisco, distant fifteen leagues from the preceding one, Santa Clara, is situated on the point of land between the South Sea (Pacific Ocean) and the estuary or river, which extends from the port almost to Santa Clara. As it is so near to both shores, it is of little extent, and the land is poor, uneven and craggy. These drawbacks render the soil very unproductive. In consequence the harvests have been poor. For the last two years the missionaries, in view of what was said, have turned their eyes to another locality about four leagues to the southwest of the Mission. There they planted their corn, wheat, beans, and barley and they have continued to cultivate the soil there with the most happy results. Their Indians speak the same language as those of Santa Clara, and they are of the same character. The cattle, sheep, and horses of the Mission suffer from the drawbacks natural to so narrow and sterile a region."

Having in a similar manner touched upon the situation at all the Missions, Governor Fages, unlike his malevolent predecessor Neve, generously acknowledged the worth of the missionaries. "From the beginning," he reported, "the founding and the spiritual as well as the temporal management of these establishments were entrusted to the Religious of the College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico. It is they who commenced the grand work amid the poverty, penury and want, which are inseparable from such undertakings in newly discovered countries. Here the difficulties were aggravated on account of the immense distances from every civilized land. Nevertheless, these Religious have placed their institutions on a solid basis. If we must do justice to all, as is obligatory, we must confess that the rapid, agreeable and interesting progress in spiritual as well

as in temporal affairs, which we happily observe and enjoy, is the glorious effect of the apostolic zeal, activity and indefatigable efforts of these Religious.[4] The very allowance of $400 annually granted to each missionary from the Pious Fund is for the most part converted into goods for the benefit of the respective Mission and its wards."[5]

In the same report, Fages makes the statement that Mission San Francisco, like the Missions of San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara, had but an apology for a church,[6] from which we infer that the edifice begun by Fr. Palóu had not been completed, and that the one in use was most probably of adobes, since Fages remarks that the churches of the other Missions were of adobes. As the official reports extant on the building activities do not begin till the year 1794, we are at sea on the subject for the period 1782-1793 inclusive. However, we may learn much about the Mission structures from an honest navigator, Captain George Vancouver of the British sloop *Discovery,* who for the first time arrived at San Francisco on November 14, 1792, and stayed eleven days. On October 19, 1793, Vancouver dropped his anchor in the bay a second time, and remained five days. The captain's observations and remarks on what he saw are so just and favorable to the missionaries that the so-called historian, Theodore Hittell of San Francisco, could not conceal his chagrin. Instead of giving the missionaries due credit, he endeavored to offset the splendid testimony of the non-Catholic captain by repeating what the half-infidel Frenchman La Pérouse, who never saw San Francisco, had to say about the missionaries and their most sensible system. We are, therefore, all the more justified

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[4] Debemos confesar, que los rapidos, agradables é interesantes progresos . . . son gloriosos efectos del apostolico celo, actividad é indefatigable empeño de sus religiosos."

[5] Fages, *Informe General Sobre Misiones,* nos. 25-31. *California Archives,* Bancroft Collection.

[6] "que solo tiene (n) un suplemento de Iglesia." Ut supra, no. 31.

in reproducing what the candid and sincere eye-witnesss observed in connection with Mission Dolores.[7]

"Thursday morning, November 15th, at San Francisco," Vancouver begins his narrative, "a boat was sent to the shore, and on its return I was favored with the good company of a priest of the Order of St. Francisco,[8] and of a sergeant in the Spanish army to breakfast. The Rev. Father expressed, and seemingly with great sincerity, the pleasure he felt at our arrival, and assured me that every refreshment and service in the power of himself or mission to bestow, I might unreservedly command, since it would be conferring on them all a peculiar obligation to allow them to be serviceable." The sergeant, in the absence of Commander Hermenegildo Sal, spoke in a similar strain.[9]

Vancouver's first visit was to the presidio, where he was entertained by Commander Sal and family. He described the presidio as a square area about two hundred yards in length enclosed by a mud wall and resembling a pound for cattle. Above this wall the thatched roofs of their low, small houses just made their appearance. One side was very indifferently fenced in by a few bushes here and there, fastened to stakes in the ground. The wall was about fourteen feet high, and five feet in breadth, and was first formed by uprights and horizontal rafters of large timber, between which dried sods and moistened earth were pressed as close and hard as possible, after which the whole was cased with the earth made into a sort of mud plaster, which gave it the appearance of durability. The church had been whitewashed and was neat in comparison to the rest. The floor in the commandant's house was the native soil raised about three feet above the original

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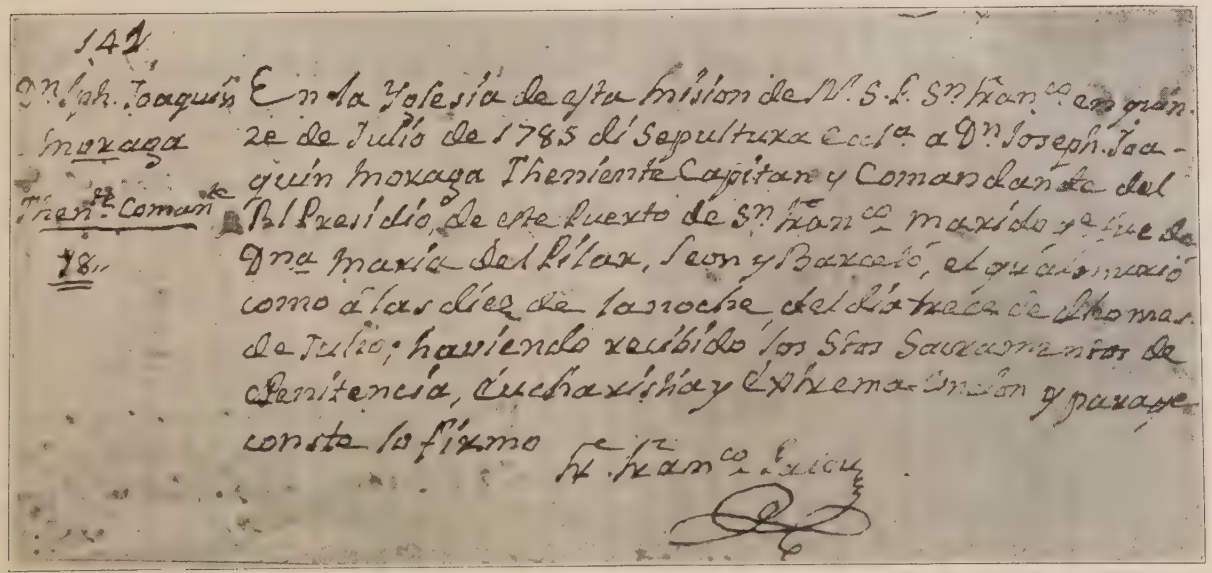
[7] "Captain Vancouver was an intelligent and honest British sailor, a good representative of a good class of explorers and writers, plain of speech, and a reliable witness on matters which fell under his personal observation."—Bancroft, *California,* i, p. 526.

[8] Probably Fr. Martin de Landaeta.

[9] Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery,* vol. ii, pp. 2-3.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Dn. Joaquín Moraga Thenn.te Comand.te
18.
En la Yglesia de esta Mision de N.S.L. S.n Franco en quin-
ze de Julio de 1785 di Sepultura con.a a Dn. Joseph Joa-
quin Moraga Theniente Capitan y Comandante del
Pl Presidio de este Puerto de S.n Franco maxido y que de
Dna Maria del Lilax, Leon y Boxcaló, el que avia muer-
to como a las diez de la noche del dia treze de este mes
de Julio; haviendo recibido los Stos Sacramentos de
Penitencia, Eucharistia y Extrema-Uncion y para que
conste lo firmo
M. Franco Lasuen

FACSIMILE OF THE BURIAL ENTRY OF COMANDANTE J. J. MORAGA

level. The windows were mere holes in the thick walls, without glass.[10]

Turning to the subject of the Mission, Vancouver goes more into detail. "On our arrival," he writes, "we were received by the Reverend Fathers with every demonstration of cordiality, friendship and the most genuine hospitality. We were instantly conducted to their mansion, which was situated near, and communicated with the church. The houses formed a small oblong square, the side of the church composed one end, near which were the apartments allotted to the Fathers. They were constructed nearly after the manner of those at the presidio, but appeared to be more finished, better contrived, were larger, and much more cleanly. Along the walls of this interior square, were also many other apartments adapted to various purposes. Some were found appropriated to the reception of grain, of which, however, they had not a very abundant stock; nor was the place of its growth within sight of the mission.

"One large room was occupied by the manufacturers of a coarse sort of blanketing made from the wool produced in the neighborhood. The looms, though rudely wrought, were tolerably well contrived, and had been made by the Indians under the immediate direction and superintendence of the Fathers, who, by the same assiduity, had carried the manufacture thus far into effect. The produce resulting from their manufacture is wholly applied to the clothing of the converted Indians. I saw some of the cloth, which was by no means despicable; and, had it received the advantage of fulling, would have been a very decent sort of clothing. The preparation of the wool, as also the spinning and weaving of it, was, I understand, performed by unmarried women and female children, who were all resident within the square and were in a state of conversion to the Roman Catholic persuasion. Besides manufacturing the wool, they are also instructed in a variety of necessary, useful and beneficial

[10] Vancouver, pp. 9-12.

employments until they marry, which is greatly encouraged, when they retire from the tuition of the Fathers to the hut of their husband. By these means it is expected that their doctrines will be firmly established, and rapidly propagated; and the trouble they now have with their present untaught flock will be hereafter recompensed by having fewer prejudices to combat in the rising generation. They likewise consider their plan as essentially necessary in a political point of view for insuring their own safety. The women and girls being the dearest objects of affection amongst the Indians, the Spaniards deem it expedient to retain constantly a certain number of females immediately within their power, as a pledge for the fidelity of the men, and as a check on any improper designs the natives might attempt to carry into execution, either against the missionaries, or the establishment in general.[11]

"By various encouragements and allurements to the children, or their parents, they can depend upon having as many to bring up in this way as they require; here they are well fed, better clothed than the Indians in the neighborhood, are kept clean, instructed, and have every necessary care taken of them; and in return for these advantages they must submit to certain regulations, amongst which, they are not suffered to go out of the interior square in the daytime without permission; are never to sleep out of it at night, and to prevent elopements, this square has no communications with the country but by one common door, which the Fathers themselves take care of, and see that it is well secured every evening, as also the apartments of the women, who generally retire immediately after supper.

"If I am correctly informed by the different Spanish gentlemen with whom I conversed on this subject, the uniform, mild, and kind-hearted disposition of this Religious Order has never failed to attach to their interest the affections of the natives, wherever they have sat down amongst them; this

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[11] A novel motive, but not the real one.

is a very happy circumstance, for their situation otherwise would be exceedingly precarious, as they are protected only by five soldiers who reside under the direction of a corporal in the buildings of the Mission at some distance on the other side of the church. There are only three Fathers;[12] these live by themselves and should any attempt be made upon them at night, the very means they have adopted for their security might deprive them of any assistance from the guard until it might be too late.

"The major part of the Indians I understood were converted to the Roman Catholic persuasion; but I was astonished to observe how few advantages had attended their conversion. They seem to have treated with the most perfect indifference the percepts and laborious example of their truly worthy and benevolent pastors, whose object has been to allure them from their life of indolence, and raise in them a spirit of emulous industry, which by securing to them plenty of food and the common conveniences of life, would necessarily augment their comforts, and encourage them to seek and embrace the blessings of civilized society. Deaf to the important lessons, and insensible of the promised advantages, they still remained in the most abject state of uncivilization; and if we except the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, and those of Van Dieman's Land, they are certainly a race of the most miserable beings, possessing the faculty of human reason, I ever saw. Their persons, generally speaking, were under the middle size, and very ill made; their faces ugly, presenting a dull, heavy and stupid countenance, devoid of sensibility or the least expression. One of their greatest aversions is cleanliness, both in persons and habitations, which, after the fashion of their forefathers, were still without the most trivial improvement. Their houses were of conical form, about six or seven feet in diameter at their base (which is the ground) and are constructed by a number of stakes, chiefly of the willow tribe, which are driven erect into the earth in a cir-

[12] Landaeta, Dantí, and perhaps Nóboa.

cular manner, the upper ends of which being small and pliable are brought nearly to join at the top, in the center of the circle; and there, being securely fastened, give the upper part or roof somewhat of a flattish appearance. Thinner twigs of the like species are horizontally interwoven between the uprights, forming a piece of basket work about ten or twelve feet high. At the top a small aperture is left, which allows the smoke of the fire made in the center of the hut to escape, and admits most of the light they receive. The entrance is a small hole close to the ground, through which with difficulty one person at a time can gain admittance. The hole is covered over with a thick thatch of dried grass and rush.

"These miserable habitations, each of which was alloted for the residence of a whole family, were erected with some degree of uniformity, about three or four feet asunder, in straight rows, leaving lanes or passages at right angles between them; but these were so abominably infested with every kind of filth and nastiness, as to be rendered not less offensive than degrading to the human species. Close by the church, which for its magnitude and architecture and internal decorations, did great credit to the constructors of it; and presented a striking contrast between the exertion of genius and such as bare necessity is capable of suggesting. The raising and decorating this edifice appeared to have greatly attracted the attention of the Fathers, and the comforts they might have provided in their humble habitation, seemed to have been totally sacrificed to their accomplishment of this favorite object. Even their garden, an object of such material importance, had not yet acquired any great degree of cultivation, though its soil was rich black mould, and promised an ample return for any labor that might be bestowed upon it. The whole contained about four acres, was tolerably well fenced in, and produced some fig, peach, apple, and other fruit trees, but afforded a scanty supply of useful vegetables, the principle part lying waste and overrun with weeds.

"The missionaries found no difficulty in subjecting these people to their authority. It is mild and charitable, teaches the cultivation of the soil and introduces among them such of the useful arts as are most essential to the comforts of human nature and social life. It is much to be wished, that these benevolent exertions may succeed, though there is every appearance that their progress will be very slow; yet they will probably lay a foundation on which the posterity of the present race may secure to themselves the enjoyment of civil society."[13]

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[13] Vancouver, ii, 2-25.

CHAPTER XI

Dedication of Mission Church.—First Reports.—A Collection for Nuns.—School at the Presidio.—Illiteracy.—Fort San Joaquin.—New Buildings. — Pottery-Making Taught. — Weather Reports. — Fr. Landaeta Retires.—Mission Progress.—Runaways.—A Disaster.—Fr. Lasuén's Letter.—Numerous Converts.—Demented Fr. Fernandez. —His Charges.—Governor Borica Hasty.—Fr. Lasuén's Action.—Another Mishap.—Fr. Espi's Excuse.—Theodore Hittell.—Borica Sensible.—Savages Punished.

IT is much to be regretted that the reports on the building activities for the years 1785-1793 inclusive were lost, and that in consequence it is not possible to fix the date for the dedication of the church begun by Fr. Palóu in 1782. Frequently a special note in the Baptismal Register describes the completion of a new church, as we see in the case of the cornerstone-laying; but this is lacking here. The Burial Register, however, throws considerable light on the question. After entry No. 263, March 24, 1791, we find the following *Nota:*

"April 8, 1791. They have transferred from the old church to the *new one* the remains of the body of the late Don José Joaquin Moraga, Founder and Captain and Commander of the neighboring presidio and of this establishment of our holy Father San Francisco, with all the pomp possible and corresponding to his merit. The entry for his burial (in the old church) is on folio 17, No. 141."

This *Nota* was made by the hand of Fr. Cambon, but not signed. April 8, 1791, was the Friday before Passion Sunday. Usually the dedication of a church took place on a Sunday or on some feastday. On the day after, the remains of the deceased missionaries would be transferred and interred in the new edifice. No priest had as yet died at San Francisco, but the remains of Moraga were for good reasons accorded that privilege. Being the season of Lent, no pomp was in order except on the preceding Sunday, the Fourth Sunday of Lent, called *Laetare*. Unless the dedication was private, it would have occured on *Laetare* Sunday, April 3, 1791.

The first official report extant about building activities is dated December 31, 1794. During that year a granary, doubtless of adobe, was erected. The dimensions were fifty-three varas (147 feet) in length and eight varas (22 feet) in width. It was contiguous to another built previously. Both were roofed with tiles. Likewise a portion of the church was roofed with tiles. Furthermore a *zanja* or ditch was constructed, to a distance of more than half a league, for the purpose of enclosing the pasture and a grain field. Various implements and tools were also procured from Mexico with the *Memórias*[1] of that year. They were intended to replace those worn out.

A royal order, dated June 16, 1791, directed that a collection be taken up among the inhabitants for the benefit of the Capuchin Nuns of Granada, Spain. Governor Roméu on December 1, 1792, announced it in a note to the officials. What the occasion was for the collection, is not known. At the presidio of San Francisco the contributions, according to a note addressed to Roméu by Commander Sal, under date of December 24, amounted to $32. Governor Arrillaga from Loreto, Lower California, under date of June 6, 1794, informed Viceroy Revilla Gigedo that the alms received, including those of San Francisco, aggregated the sum of $154.38.[2]

In obedience to a royal decree, Governor Diego Borica, on December 1, 1794, directed that primary schools should be opened wherever possible. As there were no professional teachers in the territory, Corporal Manuel Baronda was ordered to teach the children of the presidio, free of charge, the Christian Doctrine (cathechism) and how to read and write, while plying his trade of carpenter, looked after the smithy, and did other work. He complied during two years, and was

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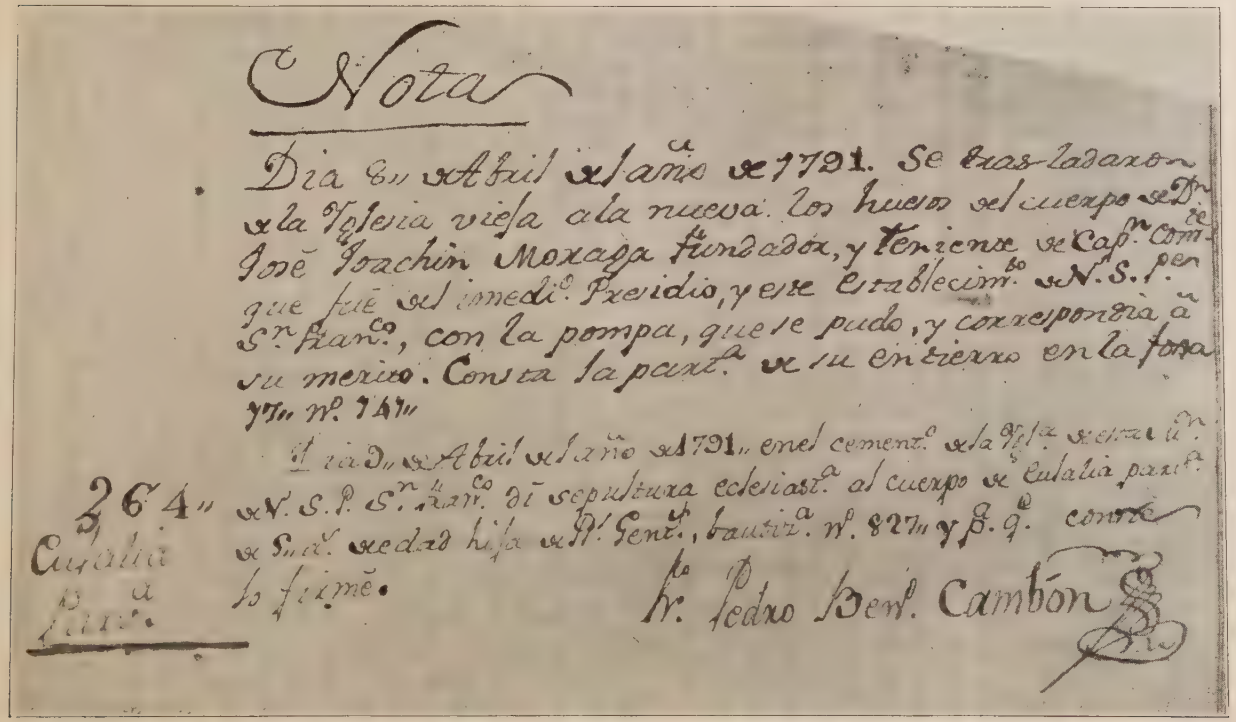
[1] *Memórias* were the list of goods sent up annually from Mexico and paid with the stipends of the Fathers or the wages of the soldiers. They continued till the year 1811, when the rebellion of Hidalgo stopped them.

[2] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Papers,* vol. x, 51-52, 157-159; xi, 93, 407.



Nota

Dia 9 de Abril de año de 1791. Se trasladaron de la Yglesia vieja a la nueva. los huesos del cuerpo del Dr. Dn. Josē Joachin Moraga fundador, y Teniente de Capn. Comandante que fué del inmedo. Presidio, y este Establecimto. de N.S.P. S.n Franco., con la pompa, que se pudo, y correspondia a su merito. Consta la partida de su entierro en la foja 77 n. 744

Dia 9 de Abril de año de 1791 en el cementerio de la Yglesia se echó la Sn. de N.S.P. S.n Franco. dī sepultura eclesiastica al cuerpo de Eulalia partida de Sn. de edad hija de Pl. Gent., bautizada n. 827 y S.g. conste lo firmē.

264 Eulalia Pa

Fr. Pedro Benl. Cambon

RECORD OF THE TRANSFER OF THE REMAINS OF CAPTAIN J. J. MORAGA. FACSIMILE

then replaced by an artilleryman named José Alvarez, who for his services received two dollars a month.[3]

There was ample reason for the governor's order. At Monterey, for instance, in 1785, out of fifty soldiers only fourteen could write. At the presidio of San Francisco, in 1786, only seven out of thirty were able to write. In 1791 out of twenty-eight men only two, and in 1794 not a man, except the officers, knew how to write.[4] Americans will discover in this statement little justification for self-complacency. Letting alone the situation in the States a century and a quarter ago, the army draft-tests at the beginning of the American participation in the late European war revealed the humiliating fact that, out of every four young men one could neither read nor write, notwithstanding all the facilities of which the Mexican people a century ago could not boast. In the Southern States of the Union the average of illiteracy was even worse. Then it must be remembered that the soldiers of the early days in California were not Spaniards, but natives of Mexico or descendants thereof, and recruited from the lowest level of society.

Turning to building activities, we find that in August, 1793, the construction of a new fort was begun at Fort Point. This work was completed early in December, 1794. On the eighth day of that month, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, the fort was blessed, privately it seems, under the invocation of San Joaquin. The main walls were of adobes, faced in embrasures with brick. This *castillo,* as it was called, had the shape of a horseshoe, and measured about one hundred by one hundred and twenty feet.[5] In this same year, June 30th, Commander Sal reported that the garrison owed the Mission of San Francisco $3410 for supplies.[6]

At the Mission, in 1796, twenty habitations for as many

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[3] *Cal. Arch., Prov. Records,* vol. v, 650; *Prov. St. Pap.,* xiv, 355.

[4] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.,* xii, 465.

[5] Bancroft, *California,* i, 699-700.

[6] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap., Benicia, Mil.,* xxi, 1, Banc. Coll.

neophyte families were built. On August 30th of the same year, Commandante José Darío Argüello wrote to Governor Borica the following interesting note: "I have forwarded to the Rev. Missionary Fathers of the Missions of Santa Clara and Santa Cruz the paper drawn up by the soldier Lozero, in which he notified them that he would give instructions for the making of pottery, so that, while he is concluding this work at San Francisco, they might collect the materials for brick, adobe, and other requisites in order that he might perform the same work at Santa Clara."[7]

According to Bancroft,[8] the weather in January, 1795, was so cold that the Fathers sometimes could not celebrate holy Mass. From 1797 to 1800 regular weather reports were rendered at the end of each year. Hence we know that 1797 was cold, windy, and foggy; that in 1798 the summer began with "terrible and continuous winds" and fogs, and the winter with frost, heavy rains and winds damaging the roofs; that in 1799 little rain fell, north winds were heavy, and there was much frost; and that in 1800 heavy rains fell, there was some frost, and high winds prevailed.

On January 6th, 1797, Fr. Landaeta informed the governor that the election for alcaldes had been held, as was the custom every year; that the neophytes Valeriano and Jorge (George) had been chosen *alcaldes;* and that Acúrsio and Fermín had been elected *regidores.* At the close of the same year the same Fathers reported that the houses of the neophytes had been completed and worn-out tools and implements had been replaced with new ones. On October 9th, the Fr. Presidente notified Governor Borica that he had granted Fr. Landaeta the permit to retire to the College of San Fernando. Fr. Landaeta had represented that he had served the requisite ten years in California, eight of which at Dolores, and therefore desired to return to Mexico.[9] Probably another motive prompted the

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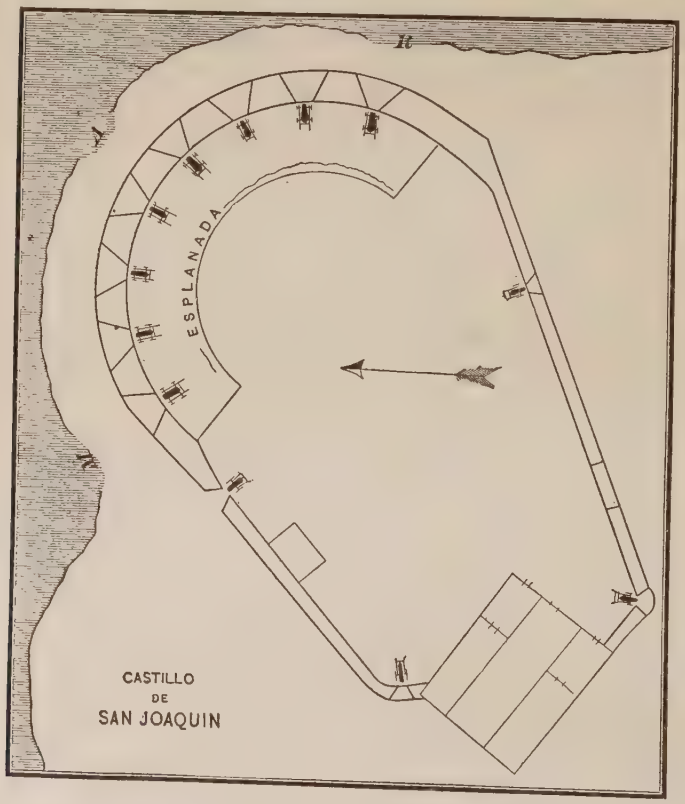
[7] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap,* xiv, 62.

[8] *California,* i, 714.

[9] *Archb. Arch.,* nos. 107, 161.

request for the permit to retire, for the good Father was a zealous missionary. Difficulties arising from the fickle nature of the Bay Indians may have disheartened him. At all events, two years later, after recovering his health which had been impaired, Fr. Landaeta returned to his post and childish neophytes.



During the first half of the last decade in the eighteenth century the Mission made giant strides in both spiritual and material progress. For instance the number of Baptisms rose from 1031 at the end of 1791 to 1861 at the close of 1795, an annual average of 207 for the four years. During the same period the yield of wheat, barley, and corn together

amounted to 14,900 bushels, or an average of 4,000 bushels a year, considering the primitive implements, a very good result. Just when everything seemed to be passing along to the satisfaction of everybody, trouble arose.

One of the vexations which the missionaries had encountered from the earliest days was the inclination of male converts to run away in order to gratify their animal propensities. The culprits were never at a loss for a pretext to cover the real motive for their disappearance from the Missions; nor would they scruple to put the blame for their waywardness on their missionary benefactors. It was the custom to send soldiers after the fugitives at stated periods in order to round them up and bring them back. Occasionally the missionaries chose not to molest the guards, and then they would despatch a number of trusted neophytes to induce the deserters to return. Frequently the runaways would take refuge among the savages of the opposite coast, whence it was very laborious, and even dangerous, to recover them without armed men. Thus in March, 1795, Fr. Antonio Dantí directed fourteen Christians to cross the bay in search of runaways. Unfortunately, the messengers disregarded the warning of the Father, and were in consequence attacked by savages. Seven of the neophytes were killed; the rest made their escape to the Mission. Exceedingly grieved at the outcome of the little expedition, Fr. Dantí reported the unhappy incident to Fr. Presidente Lasuén, who replied as follows:

"The misfortune is indeed painful in every way; but the undertaking, on account of which it happened, was good, and there was prudent hope that it would succeed. Your Reverence had given the most appropriate warnings. If the messengers had observed them, such a calamity would not have come to pass. This will exonerate you if the charge of the contrary is made. Your Reverence, since it ought also to satisfy you, should therefore give no room to excessive grief and sorrow. In the future, owing to unfortunate experiences, such undertakings must be considered not as less good, but as less likely to succeed. Hence it will be necessary to refrain from them when not executed on a larger scale, and when more suitable protection is not afforded.

"For the same reason, and also for others, it is necessary to desist absolutely from the task of bringing gentiles from the other shore by means of Christian Indians.[10] The distance, with the notable circumstance of a sea intervening, creates just suspicions that they will not remain subjects of Christian education, and one must not proceed to baptize them without a prudent hope of their perseverance. To attract them recourse was formerly had to the sending of Christians, but for the present you cannot count on this because the risk is too great. Your Reverences must content yourselves with persuading these gentiles by means of those who come and go spontaneously,[11] that they join the holy Church of God. It is better and safer (because more free) that they come with only that impulse. With this the zeal of Your Reverences must rest satisfied. Those who come in this way must be tried more than those of this side of the bay, until there is prudent security of their true vocation."[12]

Nevertheless, a month later, when about 200 neophytes had disappeared. Fr. Landaeta thought himself justified to send a band of neophytes across the bay for the purpose of bringing back the runaways. They succeeded without suffering any mishap; but when Governor Borica heard of it he, too, disapproved of the practice and ordered it to cease.[13] Many of the neophytes absented themselves on account of the fear which the extraordinary mortality of 1794 and 1795 had excited. During these two years as many as 332 Indians died about the Mission. These deaths, however, had not deterred numerous pagans from applying for admission to the convert class; for during those same two years 505 entries were made in the Baptismal Register.

When the epidemic had already subsided another trouble arose, and this time from one of the missionaries. On June 18, 1796, the *Aranzazú* brought to San Francisco five new

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[10] Neophytes were frequently given a vacation lasting two weeks. They spent them in their native rancherias, and their recital of life at the Mission induced many of the gentile natives and friends to join.

[11] Pagans who came out of curiosity.

[12] Fr. Lasuén to Fr. Dantí, May 25, 1795. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, xiii, 633; xv, 153, 171-172, 505-506.

[13] Borica to Fr. Landaeta, July 6, 1795. *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.* vi, 599-601.

missionaries. They were FF. Mariano Payéras, José Maria Fernandez, Antonio Peyri, José Viader, and Juan Cortés. Fr. Fernandez was assigned to Mission Dolores as a supernumerary. The others were distributed among the missionary establishments to the south. "He was a very kindhearted man," says Bancroft, "but a blow on the head accidentally received affected his health, and especially his mind, to such an extent that he was incapacitated for missionary labor."[14] Poor Fr. Fernandez suffered the strangest hallucinations. One of these was that the other two Fathers, Landaeta and Dantí, did not appreciate him, and would not take him into their counsels on the management of the Mission. By degrees he worked himself into such a passion that he would level the most serious charges against his companions. Instead of reporting to the Superior of all the Missions, Fr. Lasuén,[15] Fr. Fernandez chose the irregular and disloyal course of exposing to the governor the imagined guilt of the two Fathers. In his letter to Borica, written on September 12, 1796, only three months after his coming to Mission Dolores, Fr. Fernandez asserted that the desertion of the Indians was due to the ill treatment they received at the hands of the Fathers, who failed to provide the three meals of the day sufficiently warm, worked the neophytes harder than their physical constitution warranted and were generally cruel.

The governor, not aware that the friar was demented, on September 22, 1796, angrily demanded of Fr. Lasuén that he put a stop to such treatment of the Indians. Although written under a misapprehension and in a passionate mood, the letter honored the governor inasmuch as it demonstrated that he felt for the Indians, and withal had full confidence in the good will of the Franciscan Superior. Hence Fr. Lasuén quietly promised that the causes for the complaints would be

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[14] Bancroft, i, 712.

[15] This course Borica himself had advised a complaining Dominican of Lower California to take before addressing a governor on such a matter. See *The Missions,* ii, 501.

investigated and eliminated. Borica in turn expressed his satisfaction, but, feeling that he owed an apology for the tone of his own missive, nobly offered it in these terms:

"Your Paternity knows my manner of thinking, and you will do me the justice of being convinced that whatever I say, whatever I write, whatever I plan. is and always will be on the side of justice and humanity. If sometimes I use strong expressions, it is for the purpose of animating and invigorating those who have it in their power to contribute to such beneficial objects as may be in contemplation. I am a soldier, while Your Reverence fills a sacred office. It is not unnatural that the soldier, in his fiery manner, in his desire for prompt co-operation of the priest, may overlook or disregard considerations of prudence which the latter may deem of great importance, etc."[16]

After he had examined the cause "of that imprudent and noisy disturbance which did not deprive me of life because God would not permit,"[17] Fr. Lasuén wrote to Fr. Guardian Miguel Lull of San Francisco College:

"I convinced the governor that all had been a cavillous machination directed towards a very unjust claim. I in person caused him to see as much, after having satisfied his Honor by means of a confidential letter in reply to one of the same nature. He had the gratification of replying that the deserters were coming back, and that they gave assurance that not one had gone away for fear of work, nor for fear of chastisement, but for fear of the contagious and mortal disease which raged at the Mission."[18]

In June, 1797, however, another misfortune occured. A large number of fickle neophytes again disappeared. Many of the fugitives belonged to the Cuchillones, who like the Chaclanes or Sacalanes, seem to have inhabited the territory between Alameda and the later Mission San José. Raimundo, a Lower California trusty neophyte, with thirty Mission Indians crossed the bay on balsas.[19] They discovered the

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[16] Borica to Fr. Lasuén, September 22, 1796. Fr. Lasuén to Borica, September 26. *Cal. Arch., Prov. Rec.*, iv, 639-640.

[17] Fr. Lasuén refers to Fr. Fernandez's unwarranted action.

[18] Lasuén to Fr. Lull, June 19, 1801. *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[19] Rafts made of bundles of straw or tules firmly tied together.

deserters in three gentile rancherias. Raimundo persuaded them to return unobserved while the savages were enjoying their heathen dances. The truants consented; but just as they were about to embark they changed their minds, and refused to be led away. At this juncture the savages appeared and aided their resisting tribesmen. Raimundo and his companions, thereupon, made their escape to the Mission without bringing back any of the runaways. When the commander of the presidio heard of Raimundo's attempt, he forbade him to make any more such excursions, and demanded the particulars from the Fathers. In reply Fr. José Espí and Fr. Landaeta on June 22 declared that the proposition to go after the fugitives had come from the neophytes, and that they had repeatedly assured the Fathers that there was no danger whatever. "We consented solely in order to comply with the obligation of our ministry," they wrote, "and to alleviate in some measure the pain which is the more acute as the spirit is wounded to the quick in a pastor who has to give an account of so many lost sheep, if by every means he does not exert himself in seeking them."[20]

Commander Argüello reported the occurence to the governor. Fr. Espí himself explained the matter to Borica, and insisted that the Indian neophytes had been eager to go, as in their opinion, "there was no risk, because every day they go and come and deal with the Indians across the bay." Then the love for the souls of the deserters had impelled the missionaries to consent to the attempt of returning the backsliders. "I know," Fr. Espí continued, "that Your Honor will not be favorably disposed toward the practise, much less so after the disparaging criticisms which are based only on the lies and vile assertions of some of the neophytes; but the truth of the matter is that those who went have returned without any harm, all without a scratch. If for what could have happened we erred, I am ready to accept any reproof,

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[20] Fr. Espí to Argüello, June 22, 1797. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, xv, 65.

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO IN THE DAYS OF ITS PROSPERITY

and propose to amend; but with all due respect we appeal to the tribunal of the well-known piety of Your Honor that, if the existing difficulties, and disputes permit, Your Honor would furnish us with a little expedition; for the Indians are tractable. If they see four soldiers (and me, if I am permitted) with four sacks of wheat, I trust in the Lord that the savages will deliver the fugitives to us, and many gentiles will feel constrained to come along."[21]

When poor, demented Fr. Fernandez observed that he was not consulted in the transaction, he felt so incensed that he directed two long letters to Governor Borica. In both he furiously denounced the other two Fathers as the cause of the whole trouble. This time Borica took no notice of the diatribes. Only Theodore Hittell in our time eagerly seized them in order to relieve himself of a large quantity of anti-monastic choler, which usually produces a state of mind akin to dementia. Bancroft, with all the facts before him, and this time somewhat reluctant to risk his reputation, could not and would not make capital out of the incident, and so refrained from blaming the missionaries.

Lest the savages be provoked to make war on Mission San José, however, or the messengers come to grief, Governor Borica thought it prudent to forbid unarmed bands to go after fugitives. He accordingly instructed Comandante Argüello to assemble the neophytes of Mission Dolores, and in the presence of the missionaries to forbid them to cross the bay after runaways, or for any other purpose, even if the Fathers should desire it. On the other hand, the neophytes were commanded to assist punctually at the prayers, instructions, and holy Mass, and do whatever else the missionaries might command. The Fathers meekly submitted to the decision; but there was a difficulty which Argüello presented to the governor. "Fr. Landaeta," he wrote, "asked me what to do when Indians, who were born on the other side of the bay, begged permission to visit their relatives? How were

[21] Fr. Espí to Borica, June 30, 1797. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.*, xv, 59.

the Fathers to satisfy them? I replied that Your Honor should be consulted. In view of this I supplicate Your Honor to declare this point to me so that I may act with the prudence I desire."[22]

Borica, unlike the hostile Neve, was not opposed to restoring runaways to the Missions. He was too good a Christian to note with indifference that many fickle Indians, adorned with the baptismal character, yielding to carnal propensities and to the taunts of pagan tribesmen, resumed savage customs. Otherwise the missionaries would have had to refuse to baptize any but the dying native until the government, which had enlisted the priest, should furnish security that the baptised would continue to appreciate the benefits of Christianity. The governor was too wise a statesman not to perceive the dangers to society and to the territory from the return of the neophytes to savagery. What he objected to was the practice of sending unarmed bands into savage regions, lest they fall victims to the fury of gentile relatives and tribesmen, as had happened in 1795. Borica himself, on April 6, 1799, directed the missionaries of San Carlos, for instance, to choose some trusted neophytes who might accompany a squad of soldiers in search of truant Mission Indians.[23]

Nevertheless, Borica sought to avoid an open rupture with the troublesome savages, who occupied the territory now known as Alameda and Contra Costa counties. Even when, in 1795, they murdered seven San Franciscan Indians, the governor allowed them to go unpunished. This was unfortunate, because they attributed the inaction of Borica to fear. They grew more aggravating after the affair with Raimundo in June, 1797. Sergeant Amadór finally recommended an expedition to punish them and to collect the runaways, so

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[22] Borica to Argüello, July 8; Argüello to Borica, July 18, 1797. *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.,* xv, 65-67. The question reveals the custom of allowing neophytes, at least the men, to visit pagan relatives for a space of two weeks.

[23] Borica to San Carlos Fathers, April 6, 1799. *Archb. Arch.,* No. 190.

that the Sacalanes might learn from experience that the Spaniards were not afraid. Borica then ordered Amadór with twenty soldiers to capture the head men and the deserters, but to avoid bloodshed, if possible.

The expedition set out from Mission San José on July 10, 1797, and on July 15 the troops reached the neighborhood of the hostile camp. The Sacalanes would listen to nothing. They had dug pits so that the Spaniards were compelled to dismount and to attack the enemy with sword and lance afoot. In the fight two soldiers were wounded and seven savages were killed. The Cuchillones were next attacked, but retreated after two of their number had been killed. On July 18 Amadór returned to Mission San José with eighty-three captured Christians and nine gentiles, including five Sacalanes implicated in the massacre of 1795, and three Cuchillones who had attacked Raimundo in the previous month. Seventy-nine of the deserters were returned to San Francisco Mission, but never punished. The captured savages were set to work at the presidio.[24]

Poor Fr. Fernandez was clearly of no use in the Missions. He was therefore sent back to the College in the company with Fr. Antonio de la Concepcion Horra, who had gone violently insane at Mission San Miguel shortly after his arrival there from Mexico.

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[24] Bancroft, i, 711.

CHAPTER XII

Catalonian Volunteers.—A Ridiculous Project.—El Rancho del Rey.—Building Activities.—Epidemic of Measles Among the Indians.—Russian Ship in the Harbor.—N. P. de Rezánof.—Langsdorff's Fair Description of Life and Labor at the Mission.

WHILE the missionaries were annoyed and grieved by the happenings related in the preceding chapter, Viceroy Branciforte of Mexico had in mind a project which would have but added to the vexations that afflicted them. Branciforte intended placing a pueblo near the presidio where discharged Catalonian volunteers might settle down with their families, and take up land for cultivation and stock-raising. These Catalonian ex-soldiers, a class of men altogether different from the troopers who were recruited from the rabble of Mexico to guard the Missions of California, would have been welcomed by the Fathers, but they deserved a better reward for their services than the sand dunes in the proposed locality. For once the viceroy was open to reason, and so under date of May 4, 1796, asked Fathers Salazár and Señan, who had just returned from California, for their opinion as to the practicability of the plan. When seven days later Fr. Salazár showed that the Mission had to send the horses to pasture about San Bruno, four leagues to the south, and the cattle even six leagues southward, because they could not be maintained near the Mission, where water, good land, timber and even firewood were lacking, Branciforte dropped the plan.[1]

In the following year, however, the viceroy was big with another project, which he thought would insure the safety of the coast against foreign invasion.

"It is the intention," he informed the College of San Fernando, "to established a hospice or monastery at the port of San Francisco, at an

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[1] Salazár, *Representacion,* May 11, 1796. *Sta. Barb. Arch., The Missions,* ii, 511.

expense of $25,000 or $30,000, as a most effective means for colonizing the country. It is to take up the work of cultivating the soil by means of which, if it would do so, it would render a great service to God, to the king, and to the public. In a few years not only would it refund the outlay, but it could succor all the convents of the province. No other monastery would be more adapted than the one of the Carmelite Order *on account of the abundance of fish* on the coast. Twelve Religious would cause no dearth if only one were taken from each community, and these at the port of San Francisco would be of unbounded service, first for teaching the catechism to the savages, an object preferable to any other, and secondly for the cause of colonization. The inmates of the monastery, the mayordomo, the corporals, the cow-herders, the shepherds, and the laborers of this plantation would compose the community and the village. Piety and devotion would naturally attract the other sex to divine worship there, and the spires and towers would not fail to awaken sublime thoughts in the sailors and strangers."

Had the proposition come from another source, the Franciscans would have regarded it as a joke, or as the ravings of a lunatic. As it was, a reply had to be drawn up, during which procedure the two Fathers must have experienced considerable difficulty to respond in terms that would not betray their amusement. However, they proceeded to disillusion the exalted representative of the king of Spain by describing the efforts of the Friars Minor in the Missions, and their success in the spiritual as well as in the temporal order. The Indians submitted to the Gospel only when they perceived that they were not despoiled of land and liberty, and that whatever the soil and their own industry produced was garnered to support, clothe, succor them. To depart from this method would be dangerous, and might result disastrously, as was the case on the Rio Colorado.

Furthermore, $25,000 or $30,000 would not suffice to put up the edifice with spires and towers, nor provide tools, furniture, implements, cattle, sheep, horses, mules, etc. Then, if the employees were to be Indians, whose labor was cheaper, whereas white help was costly, it would be necessary for the new Religious to reduce and instruct the savages. This would require years. Finally, even if it were successful from the beginning, and even if there were a surplus of grain, live stock,

and other products, what would be the result, since there is no market?

"If, however, the object of placing twelve Religious there be the conversion of the Indians, it is nothing new that is proposed. Viceroy Bucareli had already intended such a hospice in which there should always be a certain number of Religious, who might go out to establish new Missions and maintain the old ones, and which at the same time was to serve as a house of retreat or retirement for the infirm and aged missionaries. Nothing came of the plan because the managers of the Pious Fund had declared that the Fund could not bear the additional expense. It would hardly be able to pay the cost now. Nevertheless, the proposal in this form would be most welcome to the College of San Fernando, which needs co-operation. The Carmelites would be heartily welcomed in the field as co-laborers in converting new tribes."[2] This was the end of the Utopian scheme. There is no doubt that Viceroy Branciforte used the name of the Carmelites without their knowledge.

The year 1797 was destined to be remembered by the Fathers for the troubles it brought upon the Mission. According to Bancroft, at the suggestion of Comandante Sal, Governor Borica in 1796 determined to re-establish a branch of the Rancho del Rey, which had been abandoned in 1791 in consequence of the petition of the missionaries, who claimed that injury was done to the Mission interests. The plan was carried out in 1797. Two hundred and sixty-five cattle were purchased from the Missions and placed at Buriburi, between San Bruno and San Mateo. When the news reached Mexico, it brought out a protest from the Fr. Guardian, who, under date of February 6, 1798, related the history of the rancho, and charged Borica with acting in opposition to the will of the king. The Fr. Guardian then demanded the removal of the rancho and of the cattle owned by the soldiers. He showed

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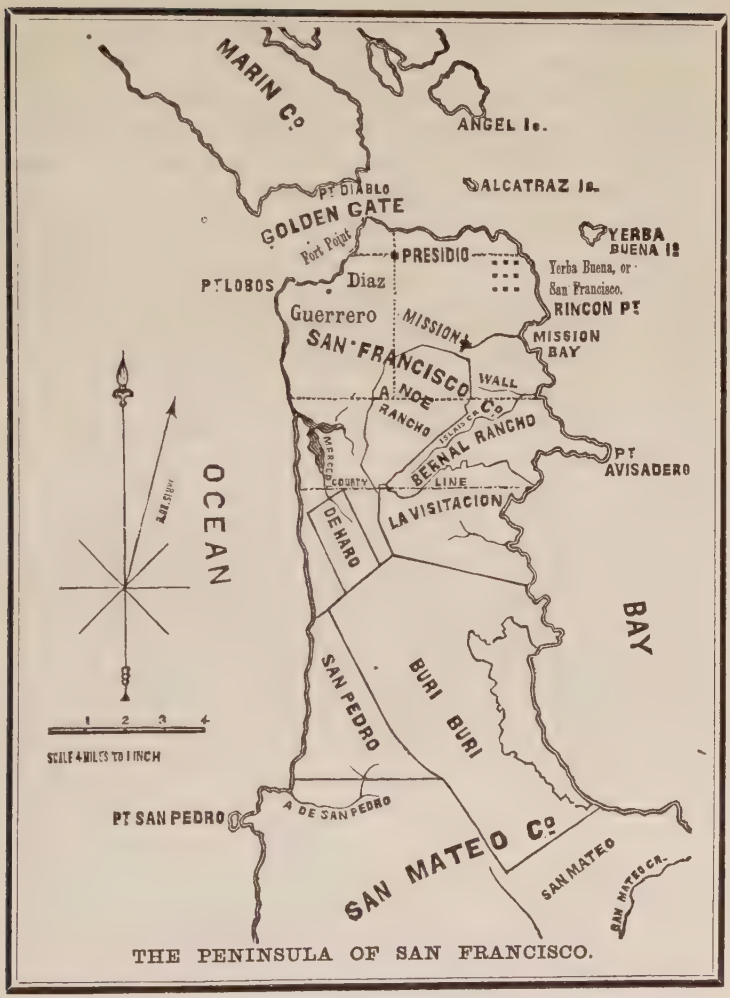
[2] FF. Mugártegui and Peña to Branciforte, January 28, 1797. *Sta. Barb. Arch., The Missions,* ii, 521-523.



THE PENINSULA OF SAN FRANCISCO.

that the pasture was all needed for the Mission herds, which now must be driven far down the peninsula. The natives, too, were suffering great injury in their natural and legal rights.. As instances the Fr. Guardian stated that the horses were kept ten leagues distant from the Mission; the sheep under a salaried man were held six leagues away; and the oxen not actually at work had also to pasture at a long distance. Comandante Argüello, being asked for a statement, declared that the Mission interests were in no way injured; that it possessed various other localities for its live stock, such as San Pedro, five leagues to the southeast, besides the smaller and nearer tracts of La Visitacion, San Bruno, and Lake Merced. Argüello's arguments seemed to the government conclusive, wherefore in March, 1799, the rancho was ordered maintained.[3]

Returning to the building activities at the Mission, we find the report of December, 1798, saying that work on the church was continued so as to close up the quadrangle. The church itself was provided with everything necessary for divine worship; and house and field had furniture, tools, and implements sufficient for the requirements. One building was erected for keeping the carts.

A royal decree of 1787 demanded biennial reports; but the first official call for them was not issued till October, 1794, and this reached California early in 1795. The first biennial report extant concerning Mission Dolores is dated December 31, 1798. According to this document there were at the Mission on December 31, 1796, as many as 410 male and 380 female neophytes, or 790 in all. At the end of 1798 there were 341 male and 304 female converts on the list, in all 645. Only 78, including 18 white children from the presidio, had been baptized, but 206, including one white child, had died. Another epidemic seems to have visited the Mission community.

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[3] Bancroft, i, 707-708.

During the year 1799 a bathhouse was erected and bathtubs were installed. A large caldron for heating the water was put in place and everything necessary for bathing the sick was provided. A structure for making pottery was also erected.

In 1800 another row containing eight houses was added to the Indian Mission village. Each dwelling measured seven varas (19¼ feet) in width and three and one-half varas (9½ feet) in height. The walls were of adobe and over two feet thick. All were roofed with tiles, and each house had a door and one window.

In the following year, 1801, twelve more such dwellings were constructed for as many neophyte families; and in 1802 seventeen additional dwellings of the same nature were built for as many Indian families.

Details for the years 1803-1805 are lacking; but the year 1806 was a sad and laborious one for the missionaries. The death roll, owing to an epidemic of measles, was appalling. Fr. Ramón Abella on December 31, 1806, reported the victims since April 24 as follows: 46 male adults and 35 male children, 117 female adults and 38 female children, in all 236 in nine months. Let it be understood that measles, smallpox and venereal diseases were unknown to the Indians of either Lower and Upper California before the advent of the soldiers from Mexico. It was the white man's diseases, besides his whiskey and vices, that extinguished the Indian population of the coast. Hence it was that the neophyte population of Mission Dolores dropped from 1,103 at the end of 1804 to 886 at the end of 1806.

On April 8,[4] 1806, the Russian ship *Juno,* having on board the imperial chamberlain, Nikolai Petrovich Rezánof and the

[4] Langsdorff has March 28 in accordance with the Russian Calendar, which at his time was twelve days behind. Since then it has lost another day. Why Bancroft makes it April 5 instead of April 8, is not clear. Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 reformed the Calendar, but bigotry in various countries yielded reluctantly to the scientific reform. Russia persisted in the error till the year 1923.

German surgeon and naturalist, Dr. G. H. von Langsdorff, entered the harbor of San Francisco. As her purpose concerns us very little, we shall reproduce only Langsdorff's impressions of what he observed and related in his *Voyages and Travels*. Twenty armed men came down to the shore escorting Alférez Luis Argüello, commandant in his father's absence, and Father Uria. Langsdorff and Lieutenant Davidof went ashore for an interview.

"We were received by a Franciscan monk and several military officers on March 28,"[5] Langsdorff writes, "when a well-looking young man, who was otherwise distinguished from the rest by a very singular dress, was presented to us as the commandant of the place. As not one of our party understood Spanish, the conversation was carried on in Latin between me and the Franciscan friar, this being the only medium by which we could make ourselves intelligible to each other. Besides Father Joseph Uria, the Franciscan, who received us at the landing, we were also introduced to Father Martin (Landaeta), and received from both an invitation to visit the Mission of San Francisco on the next day. This is an ecclesiastical establishment, lying at the distance of a short German mile eastward of the Presidency (presidio).

"On the twenty-ninth (of March), at eight in the morning, according to agreement, the horses were ready for us upon the shore, and Father Joseph Uria came himself to be our conductor. After which (visit to the presidio)[6] we proceeded towards the Mission. The road is bad either for horses or for walking, consisting almost everywhere of a loose sand. In about three-quarters of an hour we arrived at the Mission. Father Martin, to whom we had been introduced the day before at the Presidency (presidio), received us at the door with a third ecclesiastic, called Father Reymond (Fr. Ramón Abella), to whom we were presented; both gave us a kind and friendly welcome. We were carried immediately to the church, where a short prayer was put up for us, after which we were shown all that was thought deserving of attention in the chapel and sacristy. To say the truth, these curiosities consisted in little more than the ecclesiastical paraphernalia. Our Cicerone, Father Joseph Uria, who was, generally speaking, an intelligent and well-informed man, and who seemed to have a sound and accurate judgment upon most subjects, understanding that I was a naturalist, took me by the hand when we were in the chapel, and

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[5] See note 4.

[6] Langsdorff notes that "Madame Argüello had had fifteen children, of whom thirteen were at this time living."

made me take notice of a painting which represented the *Agave Americana,* or large American aloe, from the midst of which, instead of a flower stem, rose a holy virgin, by whom, as he assured me, many extraordinary miracles were performed in the sequel. This he related with an air of such firm belief in the story,[7] that I could not help thinking if the belief was really not assumed, this was the greatest miracle the Virgin could have wrought. From courtesy, however, I joined in his admiration of the circumstance.

"When we quitted the church, we were carried to the dwelling-house of the ecclesiastics, which consists of several very spacious apartments; here we were treated with a variety of refreshments, and then we were shown the rest of the buildings, with everything belonging to the institution worthy of our notice.

"The ecclesiastical institutions, to which are given the title of missions, have for their object the spreading of the Roman Catholic Religion. In those established upon the peninsula of Old and in New California, there are commonly two or three monks, who are supported in their missionary labors by the Presidency (presidio), that is to say, the military government of the country. Every one of the Fathers, when he comes over for the purpose of converting the natives, must, before he quits Spain, enter into an engagement to remain in America ten years, after which he is perfectly at liberty to stay or not, as he chooses. In his voyage hither, as well as in his return, he is maintained entirely by the Spanish Government, and has nothing to think of himself but his Bible and Prayer-Book.[8]. None of these missionaries can acquire any property, so that the idea of enriching themselves can never divert their thoughts from their religious avocation. Everything they can save or gain, goes into the chest of the establishment; they consequently return to their own country as poor as they left it.[9]

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[7] It is well that Langsdorff calls it but a story, such it was, and stories may be rejected or accepted. Fr. Joseph, despite his learning, was rather childlike. However, we have not his version of the story that Langsdorff tells.

[8] That would have been an easy life, indeed, of which the California Missionaries had no experience. Nor did the Spanish Government maintain the friars so they needed but to think of their Bible and Prayer-Book.

[9] No wonder Hittéll entirely ignores Langsdorff's splendid report, and mentions him but once in a footnote. Bancroft, too, and the whole unfriendly tribe that followed him, could have learned the truth from this schismatic Russian, if documentary evidence had not been plentiful.

"Each has an allowance of 400 piasters annually, which is devoted to the support of himself and of the community to which he belongs.[10] This sum is not paid in money; the amount is supplied in objects of necessity or utility, such as manufactured goods, for clothing, household utensils, and the like. They are sent them by the Franciscan College in Mexico, on which all the missionaries of New California are dependent, and they are shipped on board government vessels[11] at the harbor to St. Blaise (San Blas), on the northwest coast of Mexico. Among the principal objects are linen and woolen cloth, wine, brandy, sugar, chocolate and cocoa, iron tools, wax tapers for the churches, kitchen utensils, and implements for husbandry.

"All the missions have a great number of cattle and an abundance of other productions necessary to the support of man, and the monks conduct themselves in general with so much prudence, kindness, and paternal care towards their converts, that peace, happiness, and obedience universally prevail among them. Disobedience is commonly punished with corporal correction, and they have only recourse to the military upon very extraordinary occasions; as, for instance, when they go in search of (runaway) converts, or have any reason to apprehend a sudden attack. There are seldom more than from three to five soldiers at a time at any mission, but this small number has hitherto been always found sufficient to keep the Indians under proper restraint.

"Every monk has several horses for his use, and when he goes out to make his excursions in search of converts[12] is accompanied by one or more soldiers. On these occasions the whole party commonly throw over their shoulders a sort of short mantle made of deerskin. This is intended as a defense against the arrows of the (savage) Indians, which cannot pierce through the leather. By royal command, the ecclesiastics must not go to any distance from the missions without this mantle. As they must not carry about them any other weapons than the Bible and the Cross, such a protection is very necessary. During breakfast we were entertained with the information above detailed, after which we were carried round to see everything worthy of observation.

"Behind the dwelling-house of the monks is a large court surrounded with houses. Here live the Indians of the mission, who are employed under the immediate inspection of the monks in a variety of useful

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[10] i.e., the respective Mission.

[11] At the expense of the missionaries, who thus practically received only about two-thirds of their annual allowance.

[12] The sick or disabled in their rancherias. They would make the rounds of the rancherias to ascertain whether any one of the flock was ill, or whether children had been born since the last visit. These, like all *in articulo mortis,* if they were in danger would be baptized at once.

occupations, as cleaning and combing wool, spinning, weaving, etc. Their principal business is manufacturing a sort of woolen cloth for their own clothing. The wool of the sheep here is very fine and extremely good, but the implements and looms appeared of a very moderate kind, and as the ecclesiastics are the sole instructors of these people, who themselves know very little about the matter, scarcely even understanding the fulling, the cloth is of a very ordinary quality.

"All the girls and widows are in separate houses, and are kept at work under lock and key;[13] they are only sometimes permitted, by their superiors, to go out in the day, but never at night. As soon, however, as a girl is married she is free, and lives with her husband in one of the villages of Indians belonging to the mission; the latter (villages) are called *Las Rancherias*. By such institutions the ecclesiastics hope to bind their converts more closely to the establishment, and spread their religion more securely and extensively. About a hundred paces from the buildings called the mission, lies one of the villages or barracks for the Indians, which consist of eight long rows of houses, where each family lives entirely apart from the rest. The number of converted Indians is about twelve hundred.

"Their principal food is a thick soup made with meat, vegetables, and pulse. This is portioned out three times in the day, morning, noon, and evening, in the quantity of about a German measure[14] to each person. At the hour of eating, every family goes with a vessel of some kind to the kitchen, when as many measures are served to each person as there are persons belonging to it. I was present at the time of delivering out the soup, and it appeared to me incomprehensible how any one could three times a day eat so large a portion of such nourishing food. According to what we were informed by our cicerone, between forty and fifty oxen are killed every week for the community, besides which, meal, bread, maize, peas, beans, and other kinds of pulse, are distributed without any stated allowance. On account of the scarcity of fish here, or the want of proper means for catching them, these missionaries have a particular dispensation from the Pope for eating meat on fast days.

"After satisfying our curiosity at the Indian village, we saw several other useful institutions for promoting the industry and economy of the settlement. Among them was a building for melting tallow, another for the making of soap, workshops for locksmiths and all kinds of smith's work; for cabinet makers and carpenters; magazines for storing up tallow, soap, butter,[15] salt, wool and ox-hides, all of which are

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[13] They are locked in their apartments during the night only.

[14] About three English pints, a footnote explains.

[15] Tallow drippings, probably, called *mantéca*.

articles of exports; with store chambers for corn, peas, beans, and other kinds of pulse. When one thinks that in this way two or three monks take upon themselves a sort of voluntary exile from their country, only to spread the Christian religion, and to civilize a wild and uncultivated race of men, to teach them husbandry and various useful arts, cherishing and instructing them as if they were their own children, providing them with dwellings, food, and clothing, with everything necessary for their subsistence, and maintaining the utmost order and regularity of conduct;—when all these things, I say, are considered, one cannot sufficiently admire the zeal and activity which carries them through so arduous a task, or forbear wishing the most complete success to their undertaking.

"At dinner we were regaled with an excellent soup of pulse and vegetables, with roasted fowls, a leg of mutton, different vegetables, dressed in various ways, salad, pastry, preserved fruits, and many very nice sorts of food, the produce of the dairy. All these were things to which our palate had been so long strangers that we were not a little gratified with them. The wine, which was the production of the country, was but of an ordinary quality. Soon after dinner we were served with tea, which was about upon a par with the wine, but that was succeeded by superexcellent chocolate. These important matters concluded, we were conducted to the kitchen garden, which did not answer to my expectations. There was nothing in it but some sort of pulse and culinary vegetables, with a few stunted fruit trees, which scarcely bore any fruit, and most of the beds were overgrown with weeds. The northwest winds, which prevail so much on this coast, and the dry, sandy nature of the soil, are insurmountable obstacles to horticulture. The only things that grow well in the garden are asparagus, cabbage, several sorts of salad, onions, and potatoes. In some fields, tolerably sheltered from the wind, peas, beans, Turkish corn (maize), and other pulse are cultivated, and thrive pretty well. Corn is here less productive than in some other parts of New California.

"These Indians are of a middling, or rather of a low stature, and of dark brown color approaching to black. They owe their complexion very much to their dirty habits, to the power of the sun's rays, to their custom of smearing their bodies over with earth and coal-dust, and the little covering they wear. They have large projecting lips, and broad, flat negro-like noses. Their hair is long and straight. The hair grows very far down towards the eyes, so that the forehead is extremely low. None of the men were above five feet high; they were ill-proportioned, and had such a dull, heavy, negligent appearance, that we all agreed we had never seen less pleasing specimens of the human race.

"Their habitations are small round huts of straw in the form of a cone, which are erected when they come to any place, and when they

remove are burnt; they are also burnt when any person dies in one. Both sexes go nearly naked, excepting a sort of wrapper round the waist. However dull and heavy, however ugly and dirty these people appear, yet they have a great fondness for sports and ornaments. The latter are made chiefly of shells and feathers.

"When it is observed that two or three monks, and four or five soldiers, keep in order a community of a thousand or fifteen hundred rough, uncivilized men, making them lead a wholly different course of life from that to which they had been accustomed, without any spirit of mutiny or insurrection appearing among them, it must be supposed that the cause is to be found principally in the mildness and forbearance with which they are treated, and in the paternal care and kindness extended toward them. I must, however, also attribute it in a great degree to the extreme simplicity of these poor creatures, who in stature no less than in mind are certainly of a very inferior race of human beings."[16]

There is much more in Langsdorff's lucid and fair description; but what has been reproduced, although very much abbreviated, will suffice to enable the reader to form a very clear idea of the life and activities at Mission Dolores. The narrative of the Russo-German eyewitnesses, moreover, relieves us of the necessity of explaining the situation from Spanish documents, which would scarcely be so explicit and satisfactory. The Schismatic Langsdorff, a scientist, as the reader will observe, corroborates what the English Episcopalian navigator Vancouver found it just to relate, fifteen years before, regarding the motives and activities of the missionaries. That was sufficient reason for Hittell and similarly prejudiced writers to ignore both. Instead these authors, who refused to be disillusioned, sought to dupe their readers with stories in keeping with anti-Catholic bias. Such unworthy tactics are growing obsolete.

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[16] Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels,* Part ii, 150-167. For the purpose that brought the Russians to San Francisco, see Appendix C.

CHAPTER XIII

Yerba Buena.—Conditions at the Presidio.—Earthquake.—Mission Church and Church Goods.—An Expedition.—An Interrogatório on the Indians and Indian Habits in Paganism.—The Replies of the Fathers.

IN July, 1806, Governor Arrillaga reported the buildings of the presidio to be in a sad state. The commander's house was covered with tiles, but not those of the officers. The barrack had only half a roof, and was not secure for the convicts. At Yerba Buena[1] there was not even a hut for the gunners and the guns were useless from exposure. Fort San Joaquin was well located, but needed repairs. Only three of the ten guns were in good condition.

In June and July, 1808, the severest earthquakes ever experienced on the peninsula visited San Francisco presidio. On July 17, 1808, Argüello wrote to the governor: "I inform you that since the 21st of June there have been felt at this presidio eighteen shocks, and some among them so violent that, as a result of them, the walls of my house, being badly built, have been cracked so that one of its rooms was ruined; and if the shocks until now have done no further damage, it is because they found no chance for lack of dwellings. The quarters of Fort San Joaquin threaten ruin, and I fear that if the shocks continue there may happen some unfortunate accident to the troops stationed there."

In 1810 Argüello complained that continuous storms had reduced the granary and the houses of four soldiers to a woeful state. The old barracks and the other structures, including the chapel, the merlons, and esplanade at Fort San Joaquin

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[1] The term Yerba Buena first appears in a letter of Gov. Borica to Engineer Alberto de Córdoba, dated April 4, 1797; but he refers to the locality as already known under that title. The place abounded in the little aromatic or mint-like vine which the Spaniards called Yerba Buena—Good Herb, whence the name. Hittell, i, 585; Dwinelle, n. 74, 97.

were entirely destroyed. The artillery barrack and cavalry quarters were in so bad a condition that serious accidents were to be feared.[2]

At the Mission, excepting the annual statistical reports, the years 1810 to 1816 inclusive are almost devoid of interest. At the end of 1810, Fathers Abella and Lucio inform the governor and the College of San Fernando that the interior of the church had been very much adorned. Two side altars carved from wood and gilded had been installed. A statue of St. Michael, the Archangel, had been procured, and four large canvas paintings in gold frames were placed upon the walls. Two other pictures were obtained, one in a silver frame represented the Birth of Christ, and the other without frame represented St. Roch. Various silver vessels consisting of Holy Oil stocks, a reliquary, and a pyxsis for sick-calls completed the acquisitions of the year. It was well that these articles had been secured at the time, for on September 16, 1810, the Hidalgo Revolt broke out. It was of no benefit for Mexico and for the California Missions it inaugurated the beginning of a long period of misery, inasmuch as the revolt cut off all supplies procured for the stipends of the missionaries and the wages of the soldiers. The latter thereafter relied for their subsistence almost exclusively on the products of the Indian Missions.

The only building activities reported date from the year 1811, when eight habitations of adobe and roofed with tiles were built for neophyte families. In this year, however, an expedition was undertaken by water to the San Joaquin River, for the purpose, it seems, of finding a site for a new Mission. With Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni of Mission San José, and escorted by a detachment of soldiers under Sergeant José Antonio Sanchez, Fr. Ramón Abella set out from the landing on the presidio at ten in the morning of October 15, 1811, and reached Angel Island at four in the afternoon. The expedition moved up Carquinez Strait into the San Joaquin, which

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[2] Bancroft, ii, 128-130.

SIDE ALTAR, GOSPEL-SIDE, ST. JOSEPH'S, AT MISSION DOLORES

Abella named Rio San Juan Capistrano. Then the explorers crossed over to the Rio San Francisco, now the Sacramento; and after a visit to the country of the Suisunes, they returned to Mission Dolores on October 30th. A suitable site had been discovered on the Rio San Juan Capistrano, and another on the Rio San Francisco, but both were difficult of access. Details will be found in Appendix D.

On October 6, 1812, the Spanish Secretary of Foreign Relations, Don Ciríaco González Carvajal, issued an *Interrogatório* to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the Spanish dominions, requesting them to have the missionaries and others to reply to thirty-six questions regarding the natives in their pagan state. Fathers Abella and Lucio under date of November 11, 1814, replied to the questions as follows for the Indians of their missionary district.

1. *Population.* The Mission population comprises two missionary Fathers (European) and two servants. One of these is a Mexican having a Mexican wife and three children. The other is a Lower California Indian married to a neophyte of this place or vicinity. The presidio is composed of Mexicans, Indians, and Mestizos. There are no negroes.

2. *Origin.* Three Indian women of this Upper California are married to Mexicans; the rest, Indians as well as Mestizos, were born either in this country, such as the young people, or they came from New Spain, the greater portion from Sinaloa, and the rest from Nueva Galicia. See under No. 20 for the correct answer which the Fathers failed to give here.

3. *Language.* With the exception of the native Indians, all others speak Spanish, and of the natives, too, many speak it. At the Mission five languages or idioms are spoken. Those who join at the age of thirty and over never learn another language than their own.

4. *Natural Affections.* The Indians naturally love their wives and children, especially those who have persevered in matrimony for years. If they separate, the children generally stay with the mother. This is what has been observed among

the pagans. The Indians give to their children no education whatever. The most they teach them is how to hunt and fish; and the girls, how to gather the wild seeds that grow on the land. With these they maintain themselves during a large part of the year. They know nothing about agriculture nor of mechanical arts. Such things they leave to the guidance of the missionaries.

5 and 6. *Europeans, how regarded.* All here agree very well. We have not discovered any antipathy nor hatred for the Europeans, who are regarded merely as people of another caste. All who are not Indians are called *gente de razon,* people of reason, people guided by reason.

7. *Reading and Writing.* Inasmuch as it costs much labor to learn to read and write, the Indians naturally shun it. Nevertheless there are some boys whom we induce to apply themselves to reading and writing in order that they may learn the Christian Doctrine the better, and be able to sing in choir. Of the *gente de razon* some apply themselves to reading and a few to writing; but in both they are very backward. Those who have learned to write use our paper.

8. *Spanish.* There is a good number that learn to speak Spanish.

9. *Principal Virtues.* Hospitality towards every one, no matter whence the stranger; and nothing is accepted for the food presented. Likewise the very pagans compassionate those in misery.

10. *Superstitions.* Some Indians employ superstitious practices when they go hunting or fishing. They will not hunt or fish unless they have done something of the kind, such as planting a stick surmounted with feathers and wild seeds; abstaining from meat, etc. The neophytes here have already been undeceived; but there are those who hail from the mountain districts. When they come together with their pagan relatives, they will join them in such practices. By little and little, however, the new generation drops them.

11. *Indian Catechism.* There is no Catechism in the Indian language approved by the Bishops. By dint of much labor we

have compiled in Indian all that is necessary to insure their salvation. The reason is, that on passing from one arroyo to another a distinct language is encountered. At this Mission, for instance, there are five Indian languages so different from one another as Spanish is different from Mexican. It is into the language of this particular locality the Doctrina Cristiana has been translated. The *gente de razon* call it *La Doctrina Chiquita*—Little Doctrine.

12. *Idolatry.* There is no formal idolatry practiced, so far as we know. There are some stories among the old people which even the most of those who relate them do not believe.

13. *Indians twenty years Christian* compared with pagans of same age. The majority die before they are twenty years Christian, so that all the advantages that might be gained during twenty years cannot be fully recognized, because new converts are ever joining, and pagans are ever mixing with Christians. The son who is twenty years a Christian will have a father who is still a pagan. A man twenty years a Christian will marry a woman but recently from the mountains or from the other shore. It is necessary to be somewhat indulgent with these, and much more with those who inherited such indulgent ways from their forefathers. Nevertheless, there is much difference between a man who recognizes no other morality than that he must not injure another because he will then not be injured, and the man who is in possession of the principles of the Catholic Religion. In civic affairs, too, there is a great difference between a pagan Indian who goes about entirely naked without any shame whatever, and the Christian who does not go about that way. A pagan Indian official is like an untrimmed piece of timber, whereas the Christian of the same age has learned the duties of his office as taught him according to his capacity.

14. *Marriage Contract.* Presents to the father of the bride. —There appear to be none. If they agree, the contract will last until they quarrel or take sick. At most, presents of beads or similar trifles are given the girl.

15. *Medical Treatment. Dieting.* When sick, the Indians practice no dieting. He who feels cold, warms himself, and he who has fever, bathes. The greatest favor that can be offered the sick and his relatives, is not to force him to take anything, because they say force makes the sick die. The plant most used for medical purposes is the *Yerba Buena.* The prevailing infirmity is the *Gálico.*[3] The number of births does not at all correspond with the number of deaths. The births scarcely reach one-third of the deaths, that is to say in ordinary years, for in 1806 from the simple measles more than 300 Indians died, whereas only twenty-three were born.

16. *Divisions of the year, of Time.* Spring is distinguished for the appearance of flowers; winter, the time when flowers wither, and it is the time to gather wild seeds; autumn is the time for the appearance of wild geese and ducks, and the acorns ripen; summer the season of resting. They have no calendars, and do not understand them. The day, commonly, is divided into three parts: morning, midday, and evening. They eat when they feel like it, and have anything to eat. In paganism the only labor they do is to search for something to eat, and of this they have plenty. During the day they search for roots and seeds. For hunting ducks and for fishing they prefer the night, because the ocean is then quiet, and the ducks are more together in the lagoons and estuaries.

17. *Number of meals and cost.* The Indians commonly eat when they wish. In paganism their food consists of the wild seeds produced by the soil. These they roast and then grind in a mortar, and they eat them at any hour of the day, and at night whenever they wake up. The mission provides a meal three times a day: morning, noon, and at nightfall. The meal consists of horse-beans, peas, wheat, barley, corn, and meat. We shall not venture to determine the value of the meal for the individual, because they help themselves besides to wild

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[3] Universally so called by the Spaniards because during the French occupation French soldiers introduced the disease into Naples.

seeds, fish, and game, which have no fixed value in the country, as they cost but little labor.

18. *Fermented Drink.* Their forefathers have not used liquor; nor have they been using it. They have no other beverage than natural water.

19. *Worship of sun or moon etc.* We are not aware that in paganism the Indians here worshipped anything.

20. *Traditions.* It is our opinion that they and their forefathers have regretted that they find it necessary to search for food, with the bow and arrow to defend themselves against enemies, and to hunt, and to fish with a net. They know not whence they came, nor whether there are more people in the world than those in the rancherias of their vicinity.

21. *Burial Ceremonies.* They cut their long hair, disfigure the face, bedaub themselves, and there are some old women who many times beat the breast with a stone, and they do much wailing.

22. *Whether faithful in their dealings.* They have little to trade. Their dealings are very simple. Commonly they exchange seeds or for a few beads, and for the present only, as they are likely to forget.

23. *Truthfulness.* As regards untruth they proceed like boys who for the time being intend to do well.

24. *Dominant Vices.* Excess in everything.

25. *Money.* They have no money. They have little to exchange, wherefore their trading is very simple.

26. *Agriculture.* In paganism the Indians plant nothing. They are like the birds of the air which neither spin nor gather in barns. The neophytes at the Mission plant when the Fathers so direct them in common, like children of the family on the land belonging to the Mission.

27. *Irascibility or Cruelty.* They have no kind of chastisement among themselves in paganism. If one has suffered a wrong, he will take justice in his own hand, or together with the relatives with bow and arrow the wrong will be righted.

28 and 29. *Offering of Human Victims to Idols.* Idolatry has not been observed among these Indians. The most we

could ascertain is that in their dances they sometimes plant a stick mounted with feathers in the ground. Similarly on other occasions, but they do so because their old people have done so without knowing why. No human victims were offered.

30. *Rich Indians.* All these Indians are solemnly poor.

31. *Indian Rulers.* There is little distinction among these Indians. Every one marries whom he pleases. There are no chiefs or rulers properly speaking. Expert hunters or fishers have a kind of following.

32. *Personal Service to Men of Distinction.* No such service is paid to any one in paganism. The neophytes serve the Mission for their own benefit.

33. *Fondness for Music.* Whatever costs labor is naturally shunned. They have no musical instruments whatever. The most we have seen among them is that, like boys, they use a stem of wheat straw to produce a little noise. In fourteen years I (Fr. Abella) have seen but one who made a cornet. Only at their dances do they sing. Some of the tunes are cheerful, others are melancholy. When they go to battle they do not sing but shout. At the Mission we taught some boys how to play the violin, the bass viol, the bass drum, and other instruments that are used in the churches. The youths manifest no repugnance as they do in the case of more fatiguing labor.

34. *Distinguished Men.* They have not known any other weapons than the bow and arrow, which they use when hunting, defending themselves against wild beasts, and avenging some offense committed against them by their neighbors. Nor have they known any letters, characters, or pictures for the preservation of their traditions. They have been content with the net for fishing, which they think is the same everywhere. Consequently they have had no prominent men in the past. They have a very poor intellect, and are satisfied to run along and pass the time.

35. *Their Notions of Eternal Reward and Punishment.* In paganism they have no idea of the Last Things. They do not think. The most they will say is that they go to the sea. They

do not reflect on what they do. If they are questioned, they will answer: "Who Knows?"

36. *Dress of the Male and Female Indians.* The male Indians wear the *Cotón,* which is a kind of shirt of wool, the breech cloth, and the majority also wear a blanket. Others on horseback, or who go about the house, such as the alcaldes, or who occupy some position, wear pants, and those who wear pants generally also wear shoes. The Indian women and girls also wear the *Cotón,* a skirt, and a blanket, all these of woolen cloth woven in the Mission. In paganism *they do not know* these things.[4]

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[4] *Santa Barbara Mission Archives.*

CHAPTER XIV

Otto von Kotzebue's Visit.—His Prejudiced Statements.—What Was True.—Life and Amusements at the Mission.—The Soldiers of the Garrison.—Status of the Neophytes.—Camille de Roquefeuil's Visit.—His Description.—Extraordinary Mortality Among the Indians.—The Cause.—Beginnings of San Rafael.

FOREIGN visitors, who arrived at San Francisco at this period, supply some details about the Mission and the presidio which we gladly incorporate in order to make the narrative as complete as possible. "These visitors," writes Bancroft, "were in most cases entertained by the *padres* at the Mission; and of that institution those who wrote books have more to say than of the presidio."[1]

One of these foreigners was Otto von Kotzebue, commander of the Russian ship *Rurik,* which dropped her anchor in the bay on October 2, 1816, and remained there till November 1st. "The following day," Kotzebue on October 3rd writes in his *Voyage of Discovery,* vol, i, p. 278, "the festival of St. Francis was celebrated in the Mission, and the priest invited us all to dinner. The 4th (October). At eight o'clock in the morning, we all rowed to shore, and went to the presidio to ride to the Mission. After passing through a street inhabited by Indians, we stopped before a large building adjoining the church, the residence of the missionaries, and were received by five priests, of whom three belonged to this mission, and the other two had come from Santa Clara to be present at the celebration of the festival.[2] They conducted us to a large, dirty room, plainly furnished, where we were received with much respect. Precisely at ten we entered the church, which is spacious, built

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[1] *California,* ii, 374.

[2] Fathers Ramón Abella and Vicente de Oliva of Dolores, and probably Fr. Fortuni of Mission San José. Those of Santa Clara were Catalá and Viader.

of stone,[3] and handsomely fitted up, where we already found several hundred half-naked Indians kneeling, who, though they understood neither Spanish nor Latin, were never permitted, after their conversion to absent themselves from Mass. As the missionaries do not trouble themselves (?) to learn the language of the Indians, I cannot conceive in what manner they have been instructed in the Christian religion,[4] and there is probably but little light in the heads and hearts of these poor creatures, who can do nothing (?) but imitate the external ceremonies which they observe by the eye * * * [5] We were more offended than edified by a sermon preached in the Spanish language, in the Mission of San Francisco, on the Saint's day; and in which the patron saint was placed on an equality with Christ."[6]

These extracts show the drift of Kotzebue's narrative. "Beyond the country itself in its natural state, and Spanish hospitality," Bancroft remarks: "Kotzebue found nothing to praise." The historian, therefore, attributes the unjust criticism of Kotzebue and Albert von Chamisso, the German naturalist of the expedition, to "the imperfectly understood workings of the mission system;"[7] and, he might have added, to the imperfect knowledge of the Spanish language.

From the mass of misstatements we nevertheless may gather some information that corroborates what less prejudiced writers have reported before and after Kotzebue's visit. He mentions an orchestra that played in the church. "It consisted of a violoncello, a violin, and two flutes. These instruments were played by little half-naked Indians, and were often out of tune. After dinner they showed us the habitations of the

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[3] Kotzebue was not a very close observer, for the church was built of adobes.

[4] He could have secured the information for the asking. Like many another prejudiced critic, he may have feared to be disillusioned.

[5] *Voyage of Discovery*, i, 278-279.

[6] *Voyage of Discovery*, iii, 45.

[7] *California*, ii, 374, 280.

Indians consisting of long, low houses, built of bricks (?) and forming several streets." Kotzebue thought the buildings very filthy, which also must be taken with a grain of salt. The Fathers would hardly have introduced the strangers to the Indian homes on such a festival day, if the cabins of the neophytes had been as dirty as claimed. One of the party, M. Louis Choris, the artist of the expedition, appears to have come away with independent and better impressions. He found that the church was large, the dwelling of the friars, simple, suitable (not dirty as Kotzebue declares), and commodious; that the Indians had their own gardens; that twenty looms were in operation; and that there were two mills moved by mule-power.[8] Kotzebue himself avers that the Indian women "spin and weave a course stuff, which is used partly for their ordinary clothing and partly exported to Mexico."

Nor was it all work and no play at the Mission. "This being a holiday" (St. Francis's Day), the Russian writes, "the Indians did not work, but, divided into groups, amused themselves with various pastimes, one of which requires particular dexterity. Two sit on the ground opposite each other, holding in their hands a number of thin sticks, and these being thrown up at the same time with great rapidity, they immediately guess whether the number is odd or even. At the side of each of the players, a person sits, who scores the gain and loss. As they always play for something, and yet possess nothing but their clothing, which they are not allowed to stake, they employ much pain and skill on little white shells, which serve instead of money."[9]

"The coast of California is inhabited by so many tribes, that there are frequently in the Mission Indians of more than ten different races, each of which has its language.[10] The physiognomy of these Indians is ugly, stupid, and savage.

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[8] Bancroft, *California,* ii, 280.

[9] *Voyage,* i, 281-282.

[10] This should have convinced the Russian that the languages could not all be learned, and that interpreters had to be employed.

Otherwise they are well formed, tolerably tall, and of a dark brown complexion. The women are short and very ugly. They have much of the negro in their countenance, only that a negro head may be called handsome in comparison with theirs. They are principally distinguished from the negroes by their smooth, and coal-black hair."

Twice a year, the Russian admits, the neophytes were permitted to visit their relatives in the native rancherias, and to stay there for weeks at a time. Finally Kotzebue finds himself constrained to confess: "We do not deny *the mildness, the paternal anxiety of the missionaries, of which we have several times been witnesses,*" and thus he unwittingly retracts whatever he said against the devoted missionaries. If, nevertheless, Kotzebue penned the following ridiculous assertion: "The rage for converting savage nations is now spreading over the whole South Sea, and causes much mischief, because the missionaries do not make men of them before they make them Christians,"[11] it is proof that he but "imperfectly understood the workings of the mission system," as Bancroft mildly puts it.

It would require a whole chapter to correct all the errors of this Russian navigator; but it is hardly necessary, for they are so glaring that even Hittéll, who might have been expected to seize the opportunity for another diatribe, disdained to notice them, although he devoted two pages to Kotzebue's presence at San Francisco.

An explanation for the Russian's misrepresentations may be inferred from the fact that he associated almost exclusively with the dissatisfied troops. "The soldiers seemed as discontented with the government as with the Missions," writes Kotzebue, "as it is already seven years since they have received any pay; and they are destitute of almost every article of clothing. Besides this the inhabitants are entirely without European goods, as no trading vessel is allowed to enter any harbor in California."[12]

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[11] *Voyage of Discovery*, i, 280.

[12] *Voyage of Discovery*, i, 285-286.

SIDE ALTAR, EPISTLE-SIDE, ST. ANTHONY'S, AT MISSION DOLORES

In their disgust the soldiers railed, not only at the settlers, who contributed nothing, but at the missionaries, who likewise for seven years had received no allowance from the Pious Fund. During all these years the friars and their neophytes had made every sacrifice in order to support the military, although they were under no more obligation to maintain the idle soldiers than the colonists. "The Spanish officers at the presidio could not refrain from acquainting the visitors with their pet grievance," says Bancroft, "and spoke bitterly of the friars, who in these times of scarcity and suffering would furnish the men with the barest necessities on formal requisition of the governor, although they had plenty of everything."[13]

There was not plenty of everything at the Mission. The military had been making endless demands all along, and in turn gave only drafts upon Mexico upon which the Mission could realize nothing. Since no aid could be expected from outside, the missionaries endeavored to have their neophytes raise and manufacture whatever they wore or consumed. The idle soldiers might have done as much, and then they would have had what was most necessary at least. They had taken a whole rancho from the Mission, as was related in a previous chapter, and they possessed live stock. With little energy the troops might have made themselves independent of the poor Indian Mission. Instead, they like leeches fastened themselves upon the temporalities of the Mission until they had well-nigh sucked the life-blood out of them, regardless of the distress into which they plunged the neophytes and their fatherly guides.

The Indians were not the slaves of the military, although the latter appeared to regard the neophytes as such. They yielded their savage liberty to the service of their Creator under the direction of the missionaries. They had not bargained to live in servitude to the soldiers. Hence they were, as pointed out, no more obliged to go hungry and naked in order to supply the presidio people with provisions and clothing

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[13] *California*, ii, 280.

than the settlers upon whom no such insolent demands were ever made. It is therefore not surprising that the non-Catholic strangers failed to be favorably impressed with the management of the friars, when, ignorant of the real conditions at this and other Missions, they heard the ungrateful and inconsiderate officers and men of His Most Catholic Majesty belittle the country's benefactors.

Less than a year after Kotzebue's visit, *Le Bordelais,* a merchant vessel from Peru, in command of Lieutenant Camille de Roquefeuil of the French navy, arrived at the port of San Francisco. The narrative of the French commander, published for the first time in California by the late indefatigable Alexander S.. Taylor of Santa Barbara, throws so much light on the situation at both the presidio and the Mission, that we reproduce the respective portions entire.

"On August 3, 1817," Roquefeuil relates, "we had some indications of the neighborhood of land, and on the 5th, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, we descried the coast of California. At 5 o'clock we perceived the port of San Francisco, and soon after the fort on the southeast point of the entrance. We hoisted our colors and fired a gun; the fort did the same, hoisting the Spanish colors. At 6 o'clock we passed under the fort; the officer hailed the ship, and we answered we were from Lima. We ran into this basin, proceeding to the bay of Yerba Buena, where Vancouver had anchored.

"The officers from the fort, Don Gabriel Moraga and Don Manuel Gómez came off to us. These gentlemen were equally pleased and astonished to see us, as we were the first French vessel which had ever entered the port. They remained about an hour on board, and partook of a little collation, and conversed with us in the most cordial manner. Don Gabriel obligingly granted permission to provide myself with the articles which I was in need of, and invited me to the presidio. Next day he sent horses for me and the surgeon. We rode four or five miles through a very uneven country, the horses galloping all the way, and entered the principal gate, where there is a guard. We alighted at the house of Don Gabriel,

who, as well as his wife, received us with great politeness. * * * Later on I met the Father Ramón Abella, Superior of the Mission. He congratulated me on my happy arrival, offered me whatever his Mission could afford, and said that he should be happy to see me there.

"The road from the presidio to the Mission is over sand hills which produce only a coarse vegetation, ferns, stunted trees, pines, oaks, hollies, etc. This part was still more arid than the neighborhood of our anchoring-place. The mission is situated in an irregular valley, between the hills on the north and a small arm of the sea on the south. The soil seems much more fertile than at the presidio, and the temperature is sensibly milder. The church is kept in good order and handsomely decorated, the sacred utensils and the pictures are the work of Mexican artists, and exceed in richness and taste what is generally seen of this kind in most of the towns of the second and third rank in France and Germany. It may contain from five to six hundred persons. There is not a single seat. The whole does credit to the piety and taste of the Fathers. The magazines well stored with corn, peas, etc.; the looms in which cloth for the habit of the Indians is woven, and the workrooms, though not what might be desired, show the activity and industry of these worthy men.

"After the accounts of La Pérouse and Vancouver, and the complaints which the officers themselves made about the absolute want of workmen, I was surprised at seeing in their houses tables and benches of pretty good workmanship. On inquiring where they obtained the furniture, Don Luis told me they were the work of one of the Kodiaks (Alaska Indians) who had been taken prisoner while hunting the otter. Thus, in an establishment formed forty years ago by Spain, a savage from the Russian Possessions was the most skilful workman![14]

"On the 10th of August, with most of the officers, I attended divine service at the presidio, which was performed in a great hall, until the church which had been burned should be rebuilt.

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[14] This alone argues a low, idle, and ignorant soldiery at the fort.

This chapel, which was whitewashed and neatly kept, had an altar in pretty good taste, some pictures and benches on the sides. Besides ourselves, there were present about forty men, almost all military, and about a hundred women and children, all neatly dressed and behaving with much decorum. After the service two children sang in a correct and agreeable manner an invocation, each verse of which was repeated in chorus by the congregation. Father Ramón, who officiated, invited us as well as Don Luis to dine at the Mission. The repast, which was neatly served up, was composed of a small number of plain and substantial dishes, well dressed in the Spanish manner. The bread, meat, and vegetables were the product of the Mission and of good quality.

"The conversation turned chiefly on the terrible decrease of the native race in the Missions of the Two Californias. They agreed that it was almost entirely extinct in Old (Lower) California; it was also confessed that in the new province (State of California) there was not a single Mission where the births were equal to the deaths." This was true of sixteen out of the nineteen existing Missions. Mission Dolores belonged to those that reported more deaths than births. It was the zealous Fr. Ramón Abella of San Francisco, who, on being instructed to offer reason for this sad state of things to the governor, gave it as his conviction that the decrease was chiefly due to the Mal Gálico, as the malady was termed generally, introduced among the natives by the low grade soldiers recruited in Mexico from the scum of society. Said venereal disease had not been known to the Indians of either Lower or Upper California before that class of troops afflicted the Missions and their wards. The unfortunate Indians were through the *Mal Gálico* so constitutionally debilitated that even slight attacks of some other infirmity would prove disastrous.[15] Only two years before the Frenchman's visit, the Superior of

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[15] "Estan muy podridos, y esta enfermedad de el gálico en ellos es incurable." Fr. Abella to Gov. Solá, January 29, 1817.—*Archb. Arch.*, No. 698.

the Missions, Fr. Comisário Prefecto Vicente Francisco de Sarría, in a letter to Governor Pablo de Solá, flatly declared that the race was dying from the *Gálico*.[16]

The extraordinary mortality prevailing among the neophytes of the peninsula of San Francisco had alarmed the missionaries long before, but they could discover no remedy to improve the situation. Governor Solá, at length, suggested transferring a portion of the neophytes to the milder climate across the bay. A number of Indians by way of experiment were accordingly sent over, and they greatly improved in health. However, Fr. Sarría, although he approved the measure, hesitated to allow large numbers of neophytes to be moved to the other shore premanently, because communication was difficult and the missionaries were lacking; but when several neophytes on the northern shore had died without receiving the Last Sacraments, he sought a means out of the dilemma. Fortunately, on learning his Superior's predicament, Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada of Mission Purisima Concepcion, who was somewhat versed in medical science, offered to reside at Mission Dolores as supernumerary, and from there to attend the incipient missionary station across the bay. This move finally resulted in the founding, on December 14, 1817, of an *asistencia,* or missionary ranch having a chapel, baptistry, and cemetery, under the patronage of St. Raphael, the Archangel. Out of this grew the Mission of San Rafael.

The remainder of Rocquefeuil's narrative is of little interest for our purpose. He soon after departed for Nootka, for one year the scene of Fr. Magin Catalá's missionary activity, but returned on September 20, 1818, without recording anything that might throw more light on the Mission at this uneventful period.[17]

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[16] "Podridos de este mal (gálico), con que se va acabando esta pobre gente, especialments el mujério. Parece que en algunas misiones lo mismo es casarse que tomar despacho para el cementerio."—Fr. Sarría to Gov. Solá, June 28, 1815.—*Archb. Arch.,* no. 441. See note 3, chapter xiii.

[17] See *California Farmer,* October, 1862.

CHAPTER XV

The Neophytes at the Mission.—Wild Scheme and Wilder Methods.—New San Francisco Founded.—Action Disapproved.—Gov. Luis Argüello and Assembly Usurp Authority.—Fr. Sarría Lets in Light.—San Francisco Solano.—Preparations for an Expedition to the North.—The Route and Incidents.

ALTHOUGH it is clear from this Annual Report, Fr. Ramón Abella on December 31, 1818, informed the Fr. Presidente, that although 1100 Indians are on the list of Mission San Francisco, only six hundred, including infants, aged, and a large number of infirm, live here. Three hundred and eighty-two dwell at San Rafael, eighty-four have run away to their native rancherias, thirty-two are staying at San José, and a few by permission are elsewhere. Similarly runs the report of Fathers Luis Gil and Juan Cabot at the end of 1819, except that, out of 1163 neophytes listed, 509 are at the Asistencia of San Rafael, and among those remaining at Dolores 250 are small children, the decrepit and infirm. Only a small number are in robust health capable of performing the most necessary labor in the fields and weaveries. On December 31, 1820, Fathers Altimira and Ordáz reported the whole number on the roll of the Mission as 1252, but of these 590 resided permanently at San Rafael. The report for 1821, signed by Fathers Altimira and Esténaga on December 31, has 1801 Indians on the list, of whom 695 belonged to San Rafael.

With the year 1823 a radical change was made in the Annual Reports—San Rafael's Indians were no more included. The number of neophytes on the list of Mission Dolores on December 31, 1822, was given as 958—581 male and 377 female Indians. "It is true," Fathers Altimira and Esténaga write in a note, "that 958 Indians belong to the Mission; but a large number has gone to their native rancherias. The consequence, therefore, is that only about fifty able-bodied men

can be depended upon for the various labors. There is a somewhat larger number of women able to do the work suitable for their sex. So it has become necessary, owing to the lack of hands, to teach these women how to apply themselves to branches of labor which is generally performed by men. The consequence of all this is that the Mission cannot subsist in this way."

The last sentence reveals, though but darkly, a project which Fr. Altimira was then developing. It contemplated nothing less than the suppression of Mission Dolores, the transfer of the neophytes to a place north of San Rafael, which was also to be suppressed, and the founding of a new Mission to be called New San Francisco. The sterility of the soil and the severity of the climate about Mission Dolores, but especially the prospect of numerous conversions, were the reasons Fr. Altimira thought sufficient for abandoning Old San Francisco Mission. He found a sympathetic supporter of the plan in Governor Luis Argüello, who until lately had been commander of the presidio on the bay. Without consulting his Superior, but at the instigation of Governor Argüello, as Bancroft surmises with good reason, Fr. Altimira on March 23, 1823, drew up a memorial urging the transfer of Mission San Francisco. This document was presented to the territorial legislature organized at Monterey in November 1822.[1] This legislative assembly, which possessed no jurisdiction whatever, on April 9 not only voted in favor of the change, but decreed that San Rafael Mission should also be removed and with Mission San Francisco located on a new site. Very much elated, and without awaiting the approval of the Fr. Presidente, but ordered by Argüello, who likewise possessed no jurisdiction in the matter, Fr. Altimira with Francisco Castro, one of the six deputies that composed the territorial legislature, and nineteen soldiers on June 25 em-

[1] The six men composing the first assembly were José Palomares, Carlos Castro, José A. Carrillo, José Aruz, Francisco Castro, Francisco Ortega.

barked for the purpose of establishing the new Mission that should take the place of Mission Dolores and Mission San Rafael. Proceeding by way of San Rafael and Petaluma Valley, Sonoma was finally decided upon because of its climate, abundance of timber, stone, and water. On Friday morning, July 4, Fr. Altimira raised and blessed the Mission Cross and the site, and celebrated holy Mass. "All the people were told," he reported to Fr. Presidente Señan, then on his death bed at Mission San Buenaventura, "that in future this place would be called *San Francisco*." The expedition then returned to Mission Dolores, and there on July 16 he dated his report and diary.

If the dying Fr. Presidente was amazed at the summary and illegal manner with which the half-baked legislators had disposed of the subject of Mission founding and Mission suppression, without consulting the government of Mexico, he must have been astounded at the audacity of Fr. Altimira, who had arrived in California but three years previously. On August 10, ten days before his death, Fr. Señan dictated to Fr. Blas Ordáz minute instructions for his successor, Fr. Vicente de Sarría, concerning the case. After consulting with Fr. Ex-Presidente Estévan Tápis and Fr. Narciso Durán, later on Presidente of the Missions, Fr. Sarría, under date of August 23, mildly informed Fr. Altimira that he was not lawfully authorized to establish a Mission, and that not one Father in California was known to approve his conduct in the matter.

To Governor Argüello Fr. Sarría, acting Fr. Presidente, sent a long communication in which he made it clear to said official that neither he nor the legislative assembly had any authority on the subject of founding or suppressing Missions. In reply Argüello endeavored to excuse his procedure by claiming that during fifty years the missionaries had made no progress in the conversion of the northern Indians. Now the secular authority proposed to take charge of the conquest in its temporal aspects at least. "Yet, positive as was the governor's tone in general," Bancroft remarks, "he declared that he would not insist on the suppression of San Rafael, and he

seems to have consented readily enough to a compromise suggested by the Fr. Presidente." Accordingly, Fr. Sarría allowed the new foundation so illegally established to continue as a Mission, although he declared the action of the legislative assembly a grave injury contrary to the regular order." He also appointed Fr. Altimira the regular missionary of the new Mission, subject to the approval of the College of San Fernando de Mexico; *but neither Old San Francisco nor San Rafael were to be suppressed.* Moreover, Fr. Altimira would continue associate missionary of the former. Neophytes might voluntarily go from Old San Francisco to the new Mission, and also from San Rafael and Mission San José, provided that they originally had come from the Sonoma region. To avoid confusion in the names, the new establishment was placed under the protection of San Francisco Solano, the Apostle of Peru, but for short it was generally spoken of as Solano, as in the case of the Mission across the bay, which had become known as Dolores, that is to say, Mission San Francisco on the Dolores. Details belong to Mission Solano, and will therefore be discussed in the local history of San Francisco Solano.[2]

Thus it came to pass that Mission San Francisco, or Dolores, was saved from destruction through the firm stand taken by the Franciscan Superiors of the Missions. It is quite likely, as Bancroft intimates, that the suppression of Mission Dolores was only a scheme to obtain possession of the lands cultivated by the neophytes, and that the imprudent Fr. Altimira allowed himself to be utilized to promote the aims of the plotters.[3] The young Californians began early to whet their appetite for Mission property.

Meanwhile events occurred which affected the Mission more or less, and will therefore be incorporated in the narrative. The first of them was an expedition to the north. Rumors circulated that English and American immigrants had established themselves somewhere between forty and fifty leagues

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[2] The *Missions and Missionaries,* iii, 175-184.

[3] Bancroft, *California,* ii, 496.

from San Francisco Bay. Governor Solá determined to ascertain the truth, and, if necessary, to drive out the intruders. A military expedition was accordingly organized composed of thirty-five leather-jacket soldiers and twenty infantrymen, headed by Captain Luis Argüello, Ensign Francisco de Haro, Ensign José Antonio Sanchez, Cadet Joaquin Estudillo, Don Ramón Navarrete, and Rafael, the Indian interpreter. Fr.

LA LAGUNA DE LOS DOLORES AND OUTLET IN THE MISSION DISTRICT

Blas Ordáz accompanied the troops as chaplain and chronicler. His diary of the expedition covers twenty-six octavo pages. Unfortunately Fr. Blas noted neither distance nor latitude. It is therefore impossible to locate the various Indian rancherias or the camping-places of the explorers. Bancroft has John Gilroy go along as the "English interpreter Juan Antonio," but there is no mention of him in the diary, which lies before the

author, until October 30th. The provisions for the journey were supplied by the three northern Missions. Missions Santa Clara and San José were, moreover, directed to supply the horses, and have them taken directly to Carquinez Strait.

The whole company, in a launch of the Mission and in another of the presidio, sailed from the presidio landing between 11 and 12 o'clock in the morning of Thursday, October 18, 1821. Between 5 and 6 p.m., the launches reached the *estéro* on which the Asistencia of San Rafael was situated. Here Captain Argüello had the company rest and refresh themselves till 7 o'clock. The voyage was then resumed and the Rosary recited. Between 9 and 10 p. m., Ruyuta Point[4] was made, and here all landed and camped for the night. Next day the launches set sail at 8 a. m., and continued the voyage till they arrived at Carquinez Strait between 2 and 3 p. m. Here the camp was pitched, and preparations were made to transfer the horses, which had arrived from the south, across the stream on the morrow, October 20th.

"On Sunday, October 21," Fr. Ordáz relates, "I celebrated the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the troops, forming two lines, assisting, together with some Ululatos and Canucaymos Christian Indians, who were on their way to visit relatives in the rancherias to the north. During the day the rest of the horses were ferried across the Straits.

On Monday morning, October 22, between 8 and 9 o'clock, the company began to move in the direction of the east towards the Suizun, in the vicinity of which, at the foot of a hill, a spring was discovered. This was given the name San Blas. After a short rest the journey was continued until 5 o'clock in the afternoon, when the camp was prepared for the night. Next day, Tuesday, 23, the march began at 8 in the morning, when the explorers moved toward the north. In the afternoon at 3 o'clock the expedition stopped at a small rancheria of about 30 pagans in order to see whether there were any sick in danger

[4] Point San Pedro, Bancroft thinks.

of death. A little girl of about nine years was found dying. "I baptized her," writes Fr. Ordáz, "and gave her the name Antonia." At 5 p. m., the troops came upon a village of Libaytos, who marveled at sight of the white people, and much more at seeing the horses. They had never before seen either. Judging from the number of habitations, it was thought that 400 Indians lived here; but only fifty were at home, the others, it being the season for gathering wild seeds, were absent collecting seeds. Nearby a river of considerable size was discovered and named San Pedro. On its banks the company went to rest for the night.

On October 24, the explorers set out at 9 a. m., and marched northward till between 1 and 2 p. m., when they came in sight of the rancheria of Chita on the banks of a river. Some of the natives took flight, but others manifested no fear. Fr. Ordáz calculated the inhabitants to number 900 souls. After halting here until about 4 p. m., the company traveled two leagues farther to camp for the night. Next day the march was resumed at 9 a. m., and continued to the north and east till noon, when a rancheria was encountered situated on the Rio Jesus Maria (Sacramento). It was fortified by a stockade and called Goroy. These pagans, about 1,000 in number, received the strangers with manifestations of pleasure. Between 2 and 3 p. m., the troops started out again, but changed their course to the northwest. At 8 o'clock in the evening, after having marched four leagues, they passed the night on the banks of the same stream.

On October 25 the journey began at 9 a. m., and the travelers came upon the rancheria of Guiritoy, situated on the banks of the same Rio Jesus Maria, near an alameda of oaks which formed a line ten leagues in extent. The pagans may have numbered 1,700 in three rancherias. Some display of hostility was smothered by the noise of a cannon. Rafael, the Indian interpreter from Mission Dolores, experienced no difficulty in making himself understood by the Indians thus far encountered. Fr. Ordáz found himself well paid for the hardships under-

gone, when he could baptize an Indian who had been mortally wounded with a lance during the skirmish. The loss of a mule, that fell into the river with 2,000 cartridges on its back, was about the severest mishap suffered by the explorers. During the evening, while the Rosary was recited as usual, some Indians on the opposite bank of the river shot arrows at the encampment. Rafael was commanded to warn them. A few shots at random added force to the warning so that the camp remained unmolested thereafter. The march was not resumed, however, on the 27th till between 1 and 2 p. m. The road went northward till about 6 p. m., when camp was pitched at the rancheria of Capá without any resistance from the natives.

"After having celebrated the holy Sacrifice of the Mass on this day," Fr. Blas writes on Sunday, October 28, "the march for the north was begun at 10 o'clock in the morning, and at about three or four in the afternoon the company rested near the rancheria of Chá." The inhabitants, about 1,500 souls, received the strangers in a very friendly manner. On the road hither another good-sized rancheria was found, which bore the name Coriú (Coru?).

Next day the explorers started out at nine in the morning, and proceeded northward. Along the road they passed the rancherias of Teroti, Hutulrabe, Dacdac and Pachí. At 5 p. m. the camp was pitched near the rancheria of Sunús. Here, it was observed, the language changed, the Indian interpreters not being able to make themselves understood except by means of signs. For this reason the rancheria was asked to provide guides to the next villages. These were granted, and then, October 30, the march began at about nine in the morning. Argüello's company plodded northward till five in the afternoon, meanwhile passing the rancherias of Chenó and Llalí. A little distance beyond the latter, the weary travelers went into camp. "The locality in which we were," Fr. Blas writes, "is situated at the foot of the Sierra Madre, whence there had been descried by the English interpreter, Juan Antonio, two mountains called Los Cuates (The Twins), on the opposite

side of which are the presidio and the River Columbia.[5] The rancherias so far named are situated on the banks of the Rio Jesus Maria (Sacramento), whence tomorrow a different direction will be followed, according to the signs made by the natives."

Between 8 and 9 in the morning of October 31, the company set out for the west, and marched till within fifteen leagues of the Sierra Nevada, which extends from north to south, terminating in the region of Bodega, the Russian possession. At about 8 p. m., the explorers came upon a rancheria, the name of which for want of an interpreter could not be learned. This was the company's farthest north.[6] It is impossible to identify the place, because it is not possible to determine just where the party left the Rio Sacramento and entered the mountain range to the west. At this rancheria the company was attacked with arrows by the natives, who at the same time gave vent to their anger in yelling and shouting. A volley from the muskets caused the savages to retire. Owing to the darkness of the night, it was not learned how many might have been killed or wounded.

Early in the morning of All Saints Day, a deputation of the neighboring rancheria presented themselves at the camp, and by means of signs gave Captain Argüello to understand that the attack had been made by their enemies from another rancheria. After holy Mass, the commander led the company southward down a river which the Spaniards called Todos Santos for the feast of the day. At five o'clock in the afternoon a halt was made on the banks of the river. Only a small rancheria had been discovered along the road.

On All Souls Day (Fr. Blas does not mention celebrating holy Mass, although it is most likely that he did), the march was resumed between 8 and 9 in the morning, and continued

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[5] The Columbia was to the Spaniards a term nearly synonymous with "the northern interior," as Bancroft remarks.

[6] Which "would seem to point to the latitude of Shasta or Weaverville as the northern limit of this exploration."—Bancroft, ii, 448.

southward till 5 p. m., when the camp was erected near the rancheria of Tuyaja, on the banks of the same Rio Todos Santos.

At about 9 a. m. on November 3, the expedition proceeded southward along the sierra until 5 p. m. (meanwhile passing the rancherias of Lonita, Gapetely and Poquetoc), when the rancheria of Benenuc was reached. Here a piece of blue cloth was found, which the natives had obtained from the coast region, probably from the Russians of Fort Bodega. After passing the night here, Fr. Blas celebrated holy Mass on Sunday, November 4th. At 10 a. m., the company moved to the southeast. Passing two mountain ranges, two fertile valleys were discovered. One was given the name Santa Catharina, and the other was named Nuestra Señora del Carmen. Before reaching the latter a rancheria was encountered bearing the name Chugelempa. At Carmen the tired wanderers went into camp about 6 p. m.

On November 5, beginning at 8 a. m.., the march was a most painful one southward. A range of mountains, higher than the previous one, was called Montaña de Maltrato, on account of the hardships it caused. An arroyo coming down the side was called Salsipuedes.[7] On its bank was situated the rancheria of Chugelempa, reached by six or seven in the evening. Here the company rested for the night.

On November 6 the troops started the march at 8 a.. m., going southward along the same sierra, which they had followed since the first of the month, without seeing anything else than a precipice, as Fr. Ordáz puts it. That such was the case the explorers experienced when four mules laden with provisions fell over the declivity and could be rescued only with great difficulty. After undergoing many hardships and escaping grave dangers, the stopping-place was reached at 6 p. m. A creek along the trail was appropriately named Arroyo de los Peligros. The rancherias passed were Caguitlomi, Satumtu-

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[7] Literally—"Jump-if-you-can."

tillami, and Gualactole. Some soldiers claimed they had recognized the distant Russian establishment of Bodega.

At 8 o'clock in the morning of November 7 the company began their efforts to proceed southward, and continued till 6 p. m., when they reached the rancheria of Chiyasayacume, where they rested for the night. Meanwhile, however, they had passed the rancherias of Guiaguilomi, Catalillomi and Oleyomi. From a ridge of the same sierra, which was named Espinazo de el Diablo, on account of the hardships and perils undergone to reach it, the explorers believed they had seen the ocean and Cape Mendocino, distant about fifteen or twenty leagues.[8]

Next morning, November 8, the wanderers began to pick their way southward at 9 a. m., going over the same sierra until 6 p. m., when they came to a valley to which they gave the significant name Buena Esperanza. A creek ran through the valley which was named San Ignacio. This stream must have been the Russian River, and the camp was pitched perhaps not far from Cloverdale, as Bancroft surmises. Only one rancheria was passed early in the day. It went by the name Magma.

Between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning of November 9, the heroic explorers resumed the march south. Over the summit of a mountain higher than those climbed before, and in sight of greater and more perilous mountain ridges than had been passed, all were at a loss to know what course to take. They had rations for only three days left, and many of the horses had died on the road from lack of pastures and from hardships. It was decided to descend in another direction in order to reach a valley which joined another called Libantiliyami. They continued the painful journey till ten o'clock in the night, and then rested.

On November 10th, at nine in the morning, the whole company continued down the Valley of Libantiliyami on the side of the Sierra de Buen Retiro. Along the road the bones of a

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[8] It would seem that Argüello's company had ascended Cow Mountain east of Ukiah, from where the ocean is said to be visible on a clear day.

neophyte from San Rafael were discovered and given burial. He had been murdered by pagans. The wanderers were now sure of their course, and therefore proceeded in better spirits until 6 p. m., when they camped at a spring which they called San Jorge.

"On Sunday, November 11th," Fr. Ordáz writes, "I celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Immediately after, at eleven o'clock, the march was resumed in the direction of the Asistencia de San Rafael. At 6 p. m. we reached the site called Olompali, distant six leagues from San Rafael, where we stopped to pass the night. On the morning of the 12th, at 8 o'clock, the journey was resumed in the direction of San Rafael, which was entered between 11 and 12 a. m. In the afternoon the two launches arrived from San José to transfer the horses to Point San Pablo."

On November 13th Fr. Blas sang a High Mass of thanksgiving. This remark is added to the original in the hand of Fr. Mariano Payéras, Fr. Ordaz having forgotten to state the fact. At three in the afternoon Captain Argüello made preparations to transfer the horses and the men across the bay. This was effected next day, November 14th. Those belonging to San Francisco were ferried over on November 15th, arriving at their destination about 10 a. m. "Thus ended the most extensive northern expedition ever made by the Spaniards in California," Bancroft declares.[9]

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[9] *Diário* of Fr. Blas Ordáz. Original in *Santa Barbara Archives;* Bancroft, *California,* ii, 445-449.

CHAPTER XVI

Mexico Independent.—Oath of Independence.—Delegate to Congress Elected.—First Territorial Assembly.—Temporary Governor Chosen.—Upheaval in Mexico.—Oath on New Constitution Demanded.—Oath Taken at San Francisco Presidio.—Fr. Sarría's Attitude and Reasons.—Church Goods at the Mission.—Few Neophytes.—Poverty in Charge.

ON September 27, 1821, General Agustin Iturbide took possession of the Capital of Mexico, and next day the Mexican Assembly, or Junta, declared Mexico to be a free and sovereign nation independent of Spain. A regency was immediately established with the Liberator Iturbide at the head. For the Missions this change of government had the most serious consequences. The immediate effect was that no more missionaries could be expected from Spain to take the places of those who might depart or who died at their post. Ere long, San Francisco since 1823, the Missions had each only one missionary instead of two. The time came when the neophytes of some Missions were without spiritual guides because none could be obtained from Spain, and Mexico needed all the priests it had. Even as it was, the Missions could make no progress while the neophytes and the Fathers were compelled to maintain almost the whole military government of the territory. Mexican independence produced no change in this matter. Rather, with the advent of the first Mexican governor, consideration for the rights and the feelings of the Indians and missionaries ceased. Both appeared to exist only for the purpose of keeping the soldiers and their numerous families in food and clothing and idleness.

The loyalty of distant California, however, was very much doubted in Mexico. The Regency, therefore, resolved to send an agent who was to ascertain the sentiments of the Californians, foment a spirit of independence from Spanish ideas, obtain the oath of allegiance, raise the Mexican flag and organ-

ize the new constitutional government. The Rev. Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente, a member of the cathedral chapter of Durango, was accordingly appointed, and he arrived at Monterey in the *San Carlos* on September 26, 1822. The oath of independence had already been taken by all the soldiers and settlers, as well as by all the friars, in the previous April, immediately on receipt of the news of the establishment of the Regency in Mexico. Generally, and at San Francisco also, the ceremony of taking the oath was accompanied by volleys from cannon and muskets, the explosion of fireworks, and illuminations at night. The Fr. Guardian of the College notified Fr. Prefecto Mariano Payéras that every one in the College had taken the oath of independence on October 31, 1821. He hoped that the friars in California would do likewise and would receive the Rev. Commissioner Fernandez with due respect.

For details on the Rev. Commissioner's regulations and instructions, which hardly concern us here, the reader is referred to *The Missions and Missionaries of California,* volume iii, 152-154. What interests us is that the Rev. Commssioner, after executing his instructions, and having Captain Argüello of San Francisco elected governor of the territory, in order to prevent a Spaniard, José de la Guerra, from securing the office, determined to visit the Russian settlement at Fort Ross, north of the bay. Thus it came to pass that the Rev. Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente arrived at Mission Dolores in the evening of October 15, 1822, accompanied by Fr. Comisário Prefecto Mariano Payéras, the head of the California Missions. "On the 19th," Fr. Payéras writes in his *Diário,* "we set out at seven in the morning from the presidio which is a good league distant. There Captain Luis Argüello and Lieutenant Antonio del Valle with some troops and servants joined us. At ten o'clock we embarked in the launch, but for want of wind had to use the oars. We reached the *Estero* of San Rafael, seven leagues distant, at three in the afternoon. Fr. Juan Amorós, the missionary, with the sergeant and the neophytes, received us amid the ringing of bells and extraor-

dinary rejoicings.[1] The remainder of Fr. Payéras's description belongs to the local account of Mission San Rafael.

Under the provisional regulations of the Mexican Regency, California was entitled to be represented in the future Mexican Congress by one delegate. He was to be elected by five electors chosen by the settlers and Mission Indians. The five electors were chosen at an election held on April 22nd. The representative selected by the citizens and the Missions of San Francisco, Santa Clara, San José, and Santa Cruz, was Francisco Castro. The five electors assembled at Monterey on May 21st, and chose Don Pablo de Solá, the outgoing and last Spanish governor, to represent California in the Mexican Congress. Captain Argüello was named substitute. The delegate was to receive $4,000 which amount was to be raised by a subscription or a tax. For the Missions it became a tax amounting to $3,000 for which Fr. Payéras assessed them pro rata. The three poorest Missions—San Francisco, San Antonio, and Soledad—were each directed to contribute $100. The others were assessed for from $150 to $200. San Francisco, however, through Fr. Altimira, could raise only $70.[2]

The same electors who on May 21st had chosen Solá as representative, again assembled at Monterey on November 9, 1822, for the purpose of electing the six members that were to constitute the territorial legislature under the regulations of the Regency. Comisionado Fernandez intimated that they might elect themselves if they wished. The balloting finally resulted in the choice of José Aruz, Francisco Ortega, Francisco Castro, José Palomares, Carlos Castro, and José Antonio Carrillo. These men composed the first legislature of California. The members took the required oath after the celebration of a solemn High Mass, during which Fr. Payéras delivered the sermon. The *Te Deum* closed the religious ceremonies.[3] Notwithstanding this auspicious beginning, the legis-

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[1] Fr. Payéras, *Diário,* in *Santa Barbara Archives.*

[2] *Archb. Arch.,* nos. 1369, 1379; *The Missions,* iii, 150-151, 158.

[3] *The Missions,* iii, 157.

MISSION DOLORES ABOUT THE YEAR 1833

lators hardly considered the rights of Religion and of the establishments of Religion when they presumed to decree the suppression of Mission Dolores, as we have already had occasion to demonstrate in the preceding chapter.

The first duty of the new assembly was to elect a temporary governor in place of Solá. Captain José de la Guerra, as the senior presidial commander, would ordinarily have succeeded, and he appeared to be the choice of the settlers; but the captain's cradle had stood in Spain. Comisionado Fernandez, therefore, manipulated the proceedings in such a way that Captain Luis Argüello of San Francisco received the majority of votes on November 11, 1822. Luis Argüello, as we have seen, sided with the six diputados on the question of suppressing Mission Dolores. Hence the outlook for the welfare of the Missions from the very beginning of Mexican domination was not encouraging.

When Canon Fernandez returned to Mexico he learned that the Liberator Iturbide had been crowned emperor on July 21, 1822, but had been compelled to abdicate on March 19, 1823; that he had been ordered to leave the country; that he had returned; and that he was captured, and five days after landing shot to death on July 19, 1824. On October 4, 1824, a Mexican Congress promulgated a new Constitution. It provided for a republican form of government. The president chosen by the politicians, not by the people, was Guadalupe Victoria, who assumed the office on October 19. It was then decreed that every citizen under pain of banishment should take the oath on this Constitution. In the distant provinces the oath was to be taken nine days after the reception of the decree.

Governor Argüello received the document early in February, 1825. He at once summoned the assembly to meet at Monterey, and at the same time notified Fr. Comisário Prefecto Vicente de Sarría that he was expected to take the oath of allegiance on Sunday, February 13th. After consulting with Fr. Ex-Presidente Estévan Tápis, Fr. Sarría replied under

date of February 11, 1825: "I have concluded that I cannot take the oath without violating prior obligations of justice and fidelity,[4] because my conscience forbids. For the same reason I shall not influence the other Fathers to take said oath, or to sanction it by celebrating Holy Mass and singing the *Te Deum,* as is ordered in your communication of the 3rd instant. I am aware that we are threatened with exile, but I will undergo all, along with the crushing sorrow and many tears which the abandonment of the much-beloved flock entrusted to my care will cause me. . . . I assure you that, so far as my subjects are concerned, I have left them entirely at liberty to do in this particular what they may judge proper before God."[5]

As a proof that the Fathers were free to follow their own opinions on the subject, the report of Lieutenant Ignacio Martínez, who succeeded Captain Argüello as commander of the San Francisco presidio, relating the celebration held when the oath was taken, is in evidence. "On Sunday, April 24, 1825," Martínez writes, "after the decree of seventeen articles had been read, the oath was taken. Then the soldiers were commanded to present arms, and in a loud voice they cheered the Constitution three times and each time artillery was discharged. When this action was concluded the soldiers in regular order marched to the chapel of this presidio, where the Rev. Fr. Thomas Esténaga, missionary of the neighboring Mission, sang the High Mass. He also preached an excellent sermon in accordance with the circumstances. During the Holy Mass the artillery fired salutes. At the close a solemn *Te Deum* was intoned. At the end of this religious act the soldiers went out in regular order."[6] According to Bancroft, the Mexican Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs in Victoria's cab-

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[4] What was meant by this will appear presently, when his other reasons are stated.

[5] *Archb. Arch.,* nos. 1724, 1725. José M. Estudillo, July 7, 1825, corroborated the statement that the Fathers by circular of Fr. Sarría were left free. *Archb. Arch.,* no. 1821.

[6] *Cal. Arch., Prov. St. Pap.,* Indexes, xiv, 688.

inet, Pablo de la Llave, under date of September 2, 1825, directed the governor to express the great satisfaction of the government of Mexico at this patriotic action of Fr. Esténaga.[7]

In a long letter of April 23, 1825, addressed to Fr. Narciso Durán, who then favored taking the oath demanded, Fr. Prefecto Sarría justified and explained his objections to it on the following grounds

1. The king of Spain had not yet recognized the independence of Mexico, nor released the Spaniards of their fealty. In other words he considered himself a citizen of Spain. This in no way rendered him disloyal to the government of the country in which he lived. There are numerous citizens of other countries, for instance British subjects, who were and are never molested for not having taken the oath of allegiance to the United States. Similarly other republics, and monarchies, too, the world over do not demand the oath of allegiance, least of all from the priests.

2. The new Constitution required him to take up arms against said king if he appeared with an army. Priests, at all events, were never, save in Godless France, compelled to shoulder guns. The shedding of blood is abhorrent to them and forbidden except in self defense.

3. He had already taken the oath of independence. "I have not the courage to take more oaths," Fr. Sarría wrote at the conclusion, "not out of discontent with the independence, nor for any other motive of disagreement; but because I am of the opinion that oaths have become mere playthings."

4. Fear that the new Mexican Republic was only a duplicate of the French Revolution, since it began, like the French insurrection, by expelling the Religious. This objection was well founded, as the history of Mexico has demonstrated to this day, when the sham republic is just one century old. It is still persecuting Religious and priests, the most loyal portions of subjects everywhere, and denies to the Creator and His

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[7] *California*, iii, 19.

Church the right to possess as much as a square foot of land or to regard as His own what the devotion of the faithful present to the houses of divine worship.

5. In any case, Religion (i. e., the Catholic Church) took no sides, and therefore her ministers should be left out of the political wranglings. She maintains herself *under any form of government* that looks to justice and to the happiness of the people. Her children obeyed the civil regulations, but would not swear to peculiar constitutions which, like the Koran, were mixed with infidelity and superstition. Hence the sum and substance of the Fr. Prefecto's contention was that the children of the Catholic Church, especially the Religious and priests, needed no test oaths to prove their fidelity and loyalty to the lawfully constituted secular authority; for they took a higher ground, and were prompted by loftier motives than the fear of penalties or the affection for one's country. They obeyed because, as Saint Paul declares, "There is no power but from God; and those that are are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist purchase for themselves damnation."[8]

Of course, this always presupposes that such power or authority commands nothing against the Commandments and Rights of God. In effect, then, to ask men of such principles to take an oath of fealty was putting the children of the household on a level with strangers, it was scarcely anything less than an insult. Nevertheless, for the sake of the Indians, who might, otherwise, have to go without spiritual guides and the Sacraments, Fr. Sarría submitted to the demands of the demagogues to the extent of offering "to take the oath of fidelity of not doing anything against the established government."[9]

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[8] *Romans,* xiii, 1-2.

[9] Fr. Sarría, *Carta,* April 23, 1825. *Santa Barb. Arch.* Fr. Sarría to Argüello April 14, 1825. *Archb. Arch.,* no. 1726; *The Missions,* iii, 213-222. We have stated the position of the friars clearly because Hittéll (*California,* ii, 525-526) raves that the Franciscans, and the Catholic Church in general, were opposed to the republican form of government, which is utter nonsense.

That would have satisfied any statesmen worthy the name, but it did not satisfy the upstarts in unhappy Mexico. When Governor Argüello reported the Fr. Prefecto's refusal to swear to the thing they called a "constitution,"[10] and which eleven years later other upstarts abolished for another "constitution," the Mexican President, in June, 1825, ordered Fr. Sarría arrested, and placed on board the first ship for Mexico. Wiser counsels, however, prevailed, and so the saintly Fr. Prefecto was allowed to stay. It was feared that other friars would leave the territory. Who would then control the Indians and continue them to labor so that the soldiers and their numerous families might not lack food and clothing?

Although, owing to the insurrections, no aid came from Mexico since 1811, the missionaries had contrived to keep the sanctuary and the sacristy well provided with church goods. On December 31, 1823, for instance, Fr. Esténaga reported to the Fr. Presidente a list of such articles on hand at Mission Dolores. Among them were enumerated twelve chasubles, of the various colors prescribed, two dalmatics, four copes, eleven albs, eight corporals, fourteen amices, three surplices, three surplices for altar boys, two chalices, one ciborium, one silver censer and boat, two missals, one gloria wheel with twelve noisy little bells, a silver crown with diadem and twelve stars for the statue of the Blessed Virgin, one silver and three bronze altar bells, two large tower bells, etc. For the choir loft Fr. Esténaga mentions four violins and one violon.

No additions were made till the year 1827, at the end of which Fr. Esténaga reported the acquisition of eight albs and four framed pictures. Musical instruments had increased to eight violins, two violones, and two drums. For the first time this year Fr. Esténaga terms himself "Administrador de la

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[10] "A law should be the expression of the whole people who are to obey it. Such is not the case with the said Constitucion Federal," Fr. Durán replied to the demand for his oath. See *The Missions*, iii, 244.

Mision de Nuestro Padre San Francisco." Nothing more after that was procured save in 1829 a cover for the altar to keep off the dust, and in 1831 a dozen purificators besides six corporals. Poverty had taken control. There were not hands enough to provide anything more than the bare necessaries of life. For instance, at the end of 1827 only 241 Indian men, women and children lived at the Mission. These, under Fr. Esténaga, had in said year raised about 800 bushels of wheat, 1,000 bushels of barley, 50 bushels of corn, and 85 bushels of beans and peas. A portion of this meager product was supposed to be shared by the presidio, which in turn gave a scrap of paper, called a draft on Mexico, that yielded nothing whatever. The herds consisted of 4,000 lean cattle, 4,000 sheep, 470 mostly useless horses, and 18 packmules, for all of which there was no sale.

Notwithstanding their poverty, the missionaries continued the custom of celebrating the feast of the respective patron saint by inviting their brother priests of the neighboring Missions to participate in the festivites. The commander and officers were also invited to take part with their men. According to Vallejo,[11] it happened at Dolores for the last time October 4, 1830, when he was in command. Fr. Juan Amorós of San Rafael was the celebrant of the Solemn High Mass, Fr. José Viader of Santa Clara assisted as deacon and Fr. Bonaventura Fortuni of San Francisco Solano as subdeacon. Fr. Thomas Esténaga of Dolores had charge of the choir. The sermon in honor of St. Francis and in commemoration of the founding of Mission Dolores was preached by Fr. Viader.

What the situation was at the presidio may be inferred from the report of Commander Martínez, dated June 5, 1827. "The entire company, officers thereof included," he wrote, "are without saddles. Some of the soldiers perform their services riding horses barebacked." Martínez then proposed a means for securing cash in order to procure fifty saddles from Mission

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[11] *Our Centennial Memoir,* 114.

Santa Inés, which Fr. Ordáz would supply at the rate of sixteen dollars each.[12] Fr. Blaz Ordáz can hardly be blamed for refusing to furnish the articles demanded from his neophytes unless they were paid for in cash, when his Mission from 1822 to 1827 had supplied $10,767 worth of goods and provisions to the presidio of Santa Barbara, and received nothing more than a worthless draft that produced for his neophytes not as much as a pound of sugar.[13]

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[12] *Cal. Arch., Dept. St. Pap., Benicia,* i, 603-604.
[13] Bancroft, ii, 582, footnote.

CHAPTER XVII

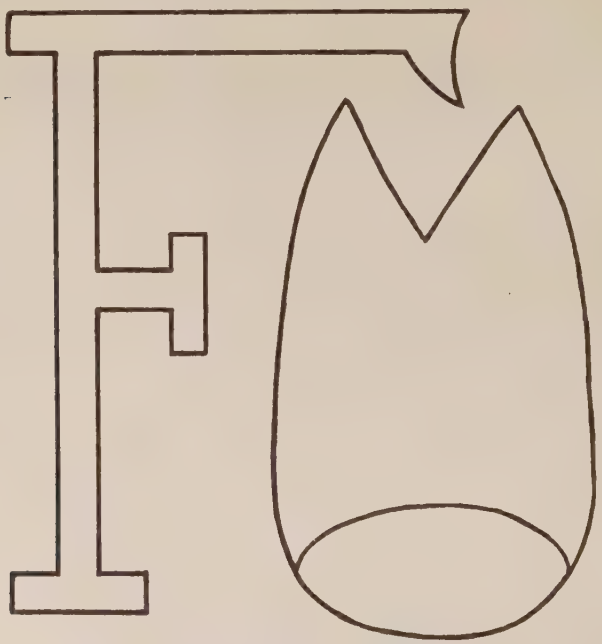
The Lands of the Mission.—Live Stock.—Kotzebue and J. M. Estudillo.—Beechey's Visit and Impressions.—Duhaut-Cilly at Mission and Presidio.—Alfred Robinson's Two Visits.—His Journeys.—Observations.—Revolt of Joaquín Solís.

THE territorial assembly on October 7, 1827, passed a decree which Governor José M. Echeandia published on the same day. It directed the missionaries to transmit a detailed report on the lands and boundaries of their Missions, and on the branding and slaughter of cattle, etc. Fr. Thomas Esténaga accordingly addressed the governor as follows: "I have lately read the *Bando* published on October 7, 1827. In compliance with what is therein ordained I shall touch briefly what in Articles One and Four is imposed upon us; for I presume that the two reports which this Mission has presented to your Honor render it unnecessary to relate more.[1]

"In the year 1814 the boundaries, or the marks of the boundaries of the lands of this Mission, were determined upon in accord with Governor Solá, the officers of the neighboring presidio, and the Rev. Fr. Ramón Abella, the missionary in charge at the time, as running from this Mission to Laurel Creek (which Your Honor may see from the last report I addressed to you), and from the limits of the Mission close down to San Francisquito Creek, which may be a stretch of about five or six leagues. It is here exactly, it being the land of the Nation, that Don Luis Antonio Argüello placed all his cattle and sheep, with what right he will know. Both lands, that of the Mission and of the Nation, are without irrigation. They depend entirely upon rain for harvesting grain, as there is no arroyo that has water sufficient to irrigate them

[1] These documents appear to have been lost. What they would contain may be gathered from our volumes on *Mission San Diego*, pp. 221-224, and *Mission San Juan Capistrano*, 86-94.

from the month of June or July to December and January. For the cattle and sheep, however, at all periods of the year, there are found good places or ponds with perennial water whither the animals have recourse to satisfy their needs. On the coast, the Mission has its large livestock, except the mares and colts, the oxen and mules, all marked with the brand of which a drawing is enclosed.



MISSION CATTLE BRAND AND EAR MARK

"The cattle herds consist, large and small, including sixty yoke oxen, of 3,022 head. Of sheep, large and small, there are 4,033. Horses of every class number 460 head, and there are twenty tame mules.

"This is all that I can report in compliance with what is ordered in the *Bando*. I hope that this account may be agreeable to Your Honor, etc. Fr. Thomas (Esténaga)."[2]

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[2] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vi, 229.

Bancroft writes that in 1822 the Mission lands extended six leagues north to south, and three leagues to the west. It was hilly, but sufficient with hard work to maintain half the neophytes. There was no irrigation. The Mission owned a piece of land across the bay also, three leagues from north to south and one-half a league from east to west.[3]

There is little to relate about either the Mission or the presidio in the second decade of the century. Were it not that several foreign visitors left a record of their observations, the period would be almost blank. Kotzebue again appeared at San Francisco on October 8, and remained till December 6, 1824, meanwhile visiting the Russians at Fort Ross. He is typical of the poor individuals governed by prejudice, which will cause them to repeat their charges in spite of all the evidences to the contrary. As before, Kotzebue has nothing but condemnation for the institutions of the country and the Mission system in particular. The missionaries had no good qualities but hospitality, etc. "Kotzebue's exaggerations and prejudice on these points are apparent," says Bancroft; but when we learn that, on his trip to Fort Ross, the Germano-Russian was accompanied by Lieutenant José M. Estudillo, whom Bancroft terms a "bitter foe of the padres, and who seems to have given the traveler some absurdly inaccurate information about the province, and also led our author far astray respecting the political situation,"[4] we cease to wonder. Estudillo, according to Kotzebue, also accused the friars "of consulting only their own interest, and employing their proselytes as means of laying up wealth for themselves, with which, when acquired, they return to Spain." We should believe that Kotzebue prevaricated rather than that Estudillo was so blind as to utter such unhistorical and monstrous charges. No friar acquired as much as a *reál* for himself, for his College in Mexico, or for relatives in Spain. "In all the years of my missionry life (and they are more than thirty-six)," Fr. Presidente Lasuén wrote

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[3] Bancroft, ii, 596-597.

[4] Bancroft, ii, 517, 523-525.

in 1801, "I have not heard of half a *reál*[5] in the use of which any missionary might have been unworthy the name of a good Franciscan."[6] This was true of latter friars as well.

The Russian navigator, however, had made some observations of his own to which Estudillo[7] would have objected emphatically, but which were far more correct than his own statements about the missionaries. "The Spaniards[8] are an ignorant, indolent, good-for-nothing people," is the impression Kotzebue took away with him.

Captain Frederick W. Beechey, of the British ship *Blossom,* anchored in the harbor of San Francisco on November 6, 1826, and was hospitably received by Commandant Martínez and Fr. Thomas Esténaga. In 1831 he published his observations and experiences in the *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific.* His descriptions are very favorable to the missionaries. Only the statements about the forcible manner of securing converts, and his charge that converts received no adequate instruction before Baptism, are untrue. Of the former, however, he himself says: "Nevertheless, on the whole *I am of opinion that the priests are innocent,* from a conviction that they are ignorant of the means employed." No such forcible means were employed. No one was detained at the Mission against his will before Baptism during the whole period of instruction. This latter Beechey also misunderstood. Until they were satisfied that a catechumen fully understood what he was to believe and to practice, the missionaries could not and would not baptize him. Beyond this Beechey reports nothing new, although in a new way, which would make good reading,

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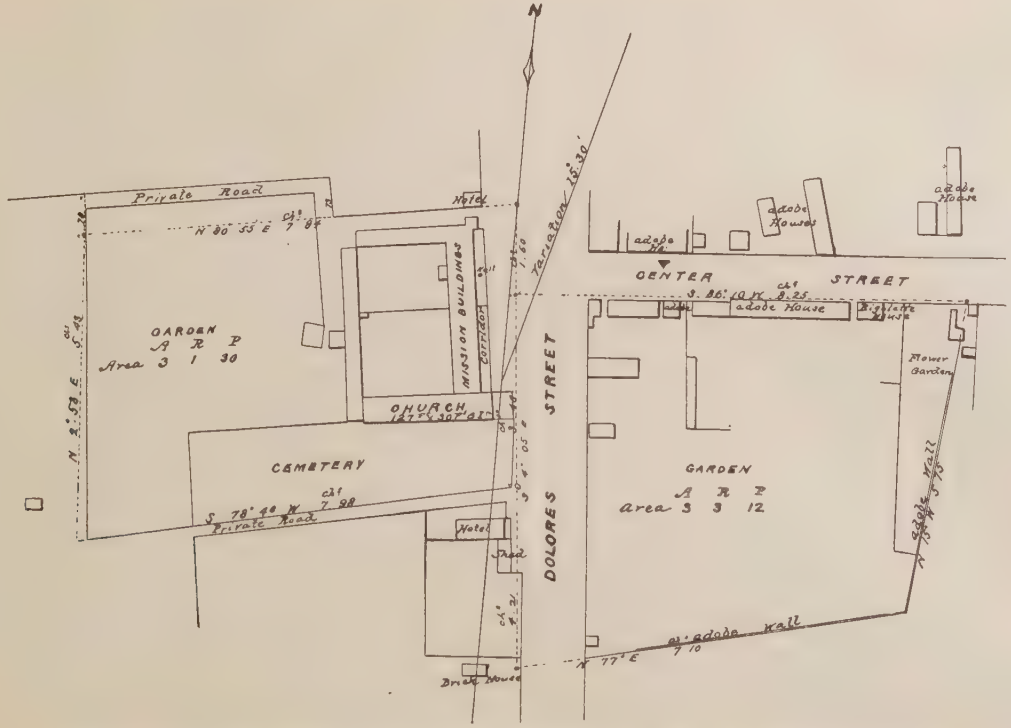
[5] A *reál* is equivalent to 12½ cents, hence 6¼ cents.

[6] i.e. untrue to Lady Poverty, as St. Francis termined it. See *The Missions,* vol. ii, 580.

[7] "Estudillo had some disagreeable qualities—notably that of vanity—which made him heartily disliked by his brother officers."—Bancroft, vol. ii, 794.

[8] Mexicans of that period and paisanos or natives of Mexican extraction; for the real Spaniard from Spain had little in common with the people Kotzebue describes, save the language.



THE PLAT OF THE MISSION DOLORES PROPERTY IN 1857, ACCORDING TO THE U. S. LAND SURVEYOR'S MEASUREMENTS

wherefore it is omitted here. He contrasts the neophytes of Mission San Francisco with those of Mission San José, and finds that the latter are a better class of Indians, and are more advanced than those of the former place. "The former in 1817 contained a thousand converts, who were housed in small huts around the mission; but at present only 260 remain. Some have been sent, it is true, to the new Mission of San Francisco Solano[9], but sickness and death have dealt with unsparing hand among the others. The huts of the absentees, at the time of our visit, had fallen to decay, and presented heaps of filth and rubbish, while the remaining inmates of the Mission were in as miserable a condition as it was possible to conceive, and were entirely regardless of their comfort. Their hovels afforded scarcely any protection against the weather, and were black with smoke. Some of the Indians were sleeping on the greasy floor, others were grinding baked acorns to make into cakes, which constitute a large portion of their food.[10] On the 28th of December, we took leave of our hospitable and affable friends, Martínez and Padre Tomaso, full of gratitude for their kindness and attention to our wants."[11]

On January 26, 1827, the French navigator, A. Duhaut-Cilly, entered the Golden Gate, "and anchored at Yerba Buena, situated in a bay farther inland behind a large point, which was seen a league to the eastward . . . . and which is two miles from the Mission." Duhaut-Cilly relates that the main Mission buildings, at the period of its prosperity, formed a quadrangle, the church and dwelling of the Fathers occupying two sides of a corner. The rest of the buildings were used for storerooms and for other purposes as the needs of the Mission demanded. Apart from this aggregation of structures, and separated by a

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[9] San Rafael, rather. Only a few moved to San Francisco Solano.

[10] That was the case when the Missions were in straits, as at the periods of drought, or when the transports failed to arrive. However, the Indians were fond of acorns, which they knew how to render palatable.

[11] Beechey, *Narrative,* vol. ii, 1-64.

spacious plaza through which ran a ditch of good water, rose the dwellings of the neophytes along the streets in regular order. When the Frenchman visited the place, most of these buildings and of the shops and storerooms had gone to ruin, owing to the lack of hands to keep things in repair. From one of the most porsperous establishments, Mission Dolores had become one of the most miserable in California. For this state of affairs Duhant-Cilly greatly blames the poor missionaries, whom he accuses of lack of energy, which shows that he had not learned the real causes of decay. The French navigator himself indicates as a chief cause the lack of able-bodied laborers. Another material cause were the demands of the soldiers whose necessities had to be supplied by the neophytes, who had to neglect the needs of the Mission, nay, of their own families, in order to satisfy the soldiers and their families. No wonder Duhaut-Cilly found Fr. Esténaga, whom he styles an excellent man, in ill health, dispirited, and disposed to leave the temporal affairs to the mayordomo.[12]

A foreign traveller of an altogether different character was James Ohio Pattie, who claimed to have reached Mission San Francisco on June 20, 1829. His story sounds so ridiculous and monstrous that it must be relegated to the Appendix for ventilation.

Alfred Robinson, the noted author of *Life in California,* arrived at Mission Dolores from the south in the same year. He came wth a friend, and relates his experience in the third person. "They," he writes of himself and companion, "reached the Rancho de las Pulgas, where they found a small adobe building with no window, and in place of the ordinary wooden door a dried bullock's hide was substituted, whch was the case, as a general thing in nearly all the *ranchos* on the coast, as there was no fear of intrusion excepting from bears that now and then prowled about, and were easily frightened away when

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12 Duhaut-Cilly, *Viaggio Intorno Al Globo,* vol. i, 223-234.

they ventured too near. The bullock's hide was used also universally in lieu of the old-fashioned bed-sacking, being nailed to the bedstead frame, and served every purpose for which it was intended, and was very comfortable to sleep upon. There being no family here, they continued their course, and, after a ride of three or four leagues, they reached the Rancho de San Mateo, at this time unoccupied. Here they tarried a while, and then resumed their journey over a smooth road without even a tree to be seen during the whole ride, until they reached the garden of the Mission. When they rode up to the door they found there Father Esténaga, who cried out, as they dismounted their horses, *'Quanto hay de bueno por aqui?'*, as he seized the author's friend by the hand, he being an old acquaintance, when they were ushered into the private apartment of the Father, to take chocolate, of course, as was the usual reception at these hospitable institutions. . . . At this time there were no houses of any kind, either between here (landing at Yerba Buena where Robinson took passage for the south) and the Mission, or between here and the presidio, excepting a rude little cottage over the hills near Washerwoman's Bay, the property of the widow Briones."[13]

Robinson, in the following year, again visited the Mission, but this time he came in the *Brookline,* which in 1830 anchored in the small bay of Yerba Buena. "At ten o'clock," he writes without giving any date, "we were visited by the Commandant, Don Ignacio Martínez, who remained to dine; a Mexican by birth, though more of a Spaniard in feeling. . . . As soon as dinner was over, we accompanied him to his house. It was a short ride over the hill, in the direction of the *Castillo,* or fort. We soon caught a glimpse of the low buildings, with their dark tile roofs, resembling prisons more than dwelling houses, and the residence of our Commandant was the most conspicuous amongst them. This was the presidio. In its plan, it is similar

[13] *Life in California,* 282-283.

to those already described, but it is in a most ruinous state.[14] There are a few framed houses scattered about outside the square, and a short distance beyond; upon the extreme point of the little bay, is the fort, which, on account of its elevated position, is used as a 'look-out place.'

"In the morning, Gale[15] went to the Mission of Dolores to visit the *padre,* and engage horses for our contemplated journey. This was an accommodation universal with all the good old friars, for which they accepted no compensation. We mounted speedily, and commenced our route through a dense thicket, where the path was narrow, and where the trees intersected their branches, as to endanger our heads as we rode along. Thus we went on, sometimes crossing little valleys, where the fox-like *coyote* prowled, and sometimes rising sandy eminences, where a glimpse was had of the neighboring bay. Through the woods resounded the wolf's howl, and the heavy track of the grizzly bear lay printed in our course. At length, through an opening in the woods, we saw the Mission of Dolores. Its dilapidated walls and dark tile roof well accorded with the bleak and cheerless scenery with which it was surrounded; for the cold, blustering sea winds, as they sweep over the hills, chill and destroy vegetation. As we approached the building, we saw in the long corridor the old friar and his *mayordomo,* to whom he appeared to be giving some directions, for the latter, hat in hand, attentively listened. Some Indians were employed in throwing out hides from one end of the building,[16] and he was evidently giving orders for their trans-

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[14] Unfriendly writers usually blame the dilapidated appearance of the Missions, at this period shorn of their means and largely of able-bodied Indians, on the missionaries. Who then was to blame for the inexcusable conditions of the forts and presidios? The indolent soldiers might at least have employed their idle hours and days in keeping their own dwellings in repair, since the Mission Indians had to provide the food and clothing.

[15] W. A. Gale, the supercargo of the ship.

[16] As Robinson was then in the hide business, this sight naturally attracted his attention.

portation to the beach. *'Como les van amigos? pasan Vmds.'*—'How are you, friends? Walk in,' he shouted at the top of his voice, as we entered the hospitable Mission, and his extended hand was warmly closed in mine in the earnest sincerity of his invitation.

"After a short conversation we remounted our horses and proceeded on our route to Santa Clara. The first two or three leagues of the journey were over a succession of hills and small valleys. . . . We passed on the road a large inclosure, called *El Potrero,* used for the rearing of horses, the walls of which were loose stones piled up to the height of about four feet. Passing this, we opened upon the grazing grounds of the Mission, where thousands of cattle[17] were scattered in herds. On our right the land was elevated, and, as it continued in the distance its tops were covered with pines. To the left lay the smooth and spacious bay, extending in a southeast direction full thirty miles from the ship's place of anchorage. . . . Now and then a distant farmhouse or Indian hut, with its little garden, would come in sight, and numerous rivulets winding their way towards the bay. A few leagues brought us to the sheep-farm of San Mateo, situated in the midst of a small wood. The building, occupied by the *mayordomo* and servants, is spacious and covered with burnt tiles. Here we alighted, and, after a short rest, remounted and resumed our journey. *El Rancho de las Pulgas*[18] was the next place of importance in our route. . . . . It is the property of Doña Soledad Ortega, widow of Don Luis Argüello, formerly acting governor of California.[19]. . . .

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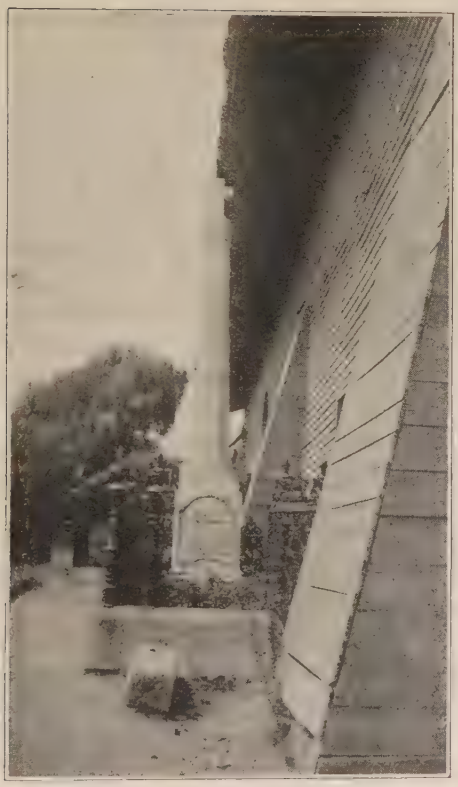
[17] In 1829 the Mission owned 4,500 head of cattle.

[18] Las Pulgas, so named on account of the multitude of fleas that infested the huts of a deserted Indian village when some of Portolá's soldiers attempted to occupy them. See *The Missions,* ii, 49, 229.

[19] Luis Argüello died on March 27, 1830, leaving to his widow the Rancho de la Pulgas, which belonged to Mission Dolores. At all events, in the report of December, 1830, the following Mission ranchos are enumerated: San Luis, or Las Pulgas; San Pablo or Oakland; San Antonio; Nuestra Señora de la Merced; and Buri-Buri.—*Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* v, 299.



MONUMENT OVER THE GRAVE OF GOVERNOR LUIS ANTONIO ARGÜELLO. BORN at SAN FRANCISCO JUNE 21, 1774. DIED THERE MARCH 27, 1830

She treated us with the utmost courtesy. After dinner we again proceeded on our way. . . . Business required several trips to and from the ship (to Santa Clara), which were performed sometimes on horseback, and sometimes by means of a launch belonging to the Mission of Dolores."[20]

Considerable excitement was aroused all over California in November, 1829, when Joaquin Solís, a settler at Monterey, raised the flag of revolt against Governor Echeandia. The garrison imprisoned their officers and joined the rebel leader. With an armed band he marched north, and on December 4th appeared before the presidio of San Francisco, which received Solís with an artillery salute. The presidio soldiers went over to the new leader, and José Sanchez was made commander in place of Martínez, who with the other officers remained loyal. A part of the garrison was incorporated in the motley army of Solís, but most of them deserted on the way to Monterey. The rebels then moved southward to take Santa Barbara. In the vicinity of the town Echeandia's troops had taken their stand. When Solís reached there, cannonading began and the troops on both sides kept up the firing, although both took care to keep outside of shooting range, until the powder had been used up. Then Solís retreated with his men, who on the way back deserted one by one. At San Francisco the old officers again took command, and that terminated the fizzle so far as San Francisco was concerned.[21]

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[20] *Life in California,* 67-71.

[21] *The Missions,* iii, 283-290; 331, 334.

CHAPTER XVIII

Anti-Spanish Legislation.—Mexican Friars Arrive.—The Presidio Under Mariano Vallejo.—His Bombastic and Lying Effusion.—Birds of a Feather.—Bancroft's Contempt for Them.—Christian Missions Aided Except in California.—Aims of Paisano Chiefs.—Figueroa Warns Mexican Government.—J. B. Alvarado's Disloyalty Squelched by Fr. Durán.—Vallejo Himself Accused.—Fr. García Diego.—Fr. González Rúbio.—Endless Forced Contributions.—Figueroa Pleads.—The Missions Maintain the Civil and Military Government.

WE now enter upon a period of gloom for the Missions and their neophytes. Coming events had been foreshadowed by the various acts of the demagogues who constituted the Mexican government since the declaration of independence. The test oath already discussed rendered it impossible to secure fresh missionaries from Spain, the only source whence missionary recruits could be expected to replace the departing or dying priests. Then came the decree of May, 1827, inspired by silly nativism. It forbade any Spaniard to hold a public office. This found its complement in the decree of December 20, 1827, commanding all Spaniards under sixty years of age to leave the country within six months. Finally the decree of March 20, 1829, extended the provision to California, which territory every Spaniard under sixty years of age was to leave one month after the promulgation of the law. These unwise measures compelled conservative, faithful and respected officials to surrender their civil or military positions to young, conceited and unscrupulous upstarts, who thereupon played at statesmanship like ill-mannered and overgrown schoolboys. Unfortunately these crude youths lacked thorough religious training, and thus, with the advent especially of Echeandia and his foreign retinue of unscrupulous adventurers, soon imbibed the Voltairian ideas prevalent in Mexico among self-seeking officials, who allowed no Commandment of God to stand in the way of their ambition or cupidity.

From motives of self-interest already intimated, the Spanish Friars were permitted to remain at their post, but when two

of them in January, 1828, in an American ship fled from the territory and political dictation, the Mexican government directed the Franciscan missionary college of Guadalupe, Zacatecas, to despatch a band of friars to California in order to take charge of the Missions in the north. This college, which consisted entirely of native Mexican friars, accordingly sent ten Franciscans under the leadership of Fr. Francisco García Diego. All but one, who had come earlier, landed at Monterey on Tuesday, January 15, 1833, in company of Don José Figueroa, who had been appointed governor of California. In agreement with the Spanish Fathers from San Fernando College, Mexico, these friars eventually accepted the ten Missions from Soledad to Sonoma. Fr. Thomas Esténaga, accordingly, surrendered Mission Dolores to Fr. José Lorenzo de la Concepcion Quíjas, and withdrew to Mission San Gabriel, near Los Angeles.

When Fr. Quíjas took charge he learned from the Mission Registers that the Fernandinos, during the fifty-seven years of the Mission's existence, had baptized 6,536 Indians, an annual average of 113, besides 448 Mexican children; they had blessed 1,961 Indian marriages and 79 Mexican couples, and they had buried 5,037 Indian and 150 Mexican dead. The community at the end of the last general report, December 31, 1832, consisted of 204 Indians of all ages, which would mean about fifty families. The herds, on the same date, consisted of 5,000 cattle, 3,500 sheep, 1,000 horses, most of which were of no use, and 18 mules. Owing to the scarcity of able-bodied neophytes, the fields had yielded, in the year 1832, only 500 bushels of wheat, 400 bushels of barley, 50 bushels of corn, and 140 bushels of beans and peas. This harvest was about two-thirds of the usual product. After this date no reports were made for the reasons which will appear later.

As the new missionaries observed the same Rule of St. Francis, wore the same gray Franciscan habit, spoke the same Castilian language, and continued the same routine, the neophytes scarcely noticed the difference. Fr. Quíjas himself was a full-blooded Mexican Indian, but quite the equal of his

brethren of Spanish extraction in learning, which in the history of Mexico is nothing unusual. In truth, the reader must avoid judging the character of the Indians in Mexico from what he may have learned of the Indians in California. Nevertheless, coming straight from a monastery to an unaccustomed sphere of activity, their inexperience, and a certain degree of prejudice on the part of the paisanos, who also influenced the neophytes, caused some difficulties. Whatever the vexations, the newcomers, like their predecessors, suffered them in silence so long as the rights of their red wards were not affected.

The garrison at the presidio embraced between ten and eighteen soldiers, again as many acting as guards at the Missions of the district. Lieutenant Martinez continued in command till September, 1831. In 1827, Mariano Vallejo, only nineteen years of age, was appointed ensign for the presidio, but, happily for the Mission, he staid at Monterey till 1830. After Martinez had retired, Don Mariano acted as comandante till 1832, in which year he "was absent as member of the diputacion (legislature) and revolutionist," according to Bancroft. Ensign José Sanchez then served as commandant. Vallejo was in charge, however, when Fr. Quijas relieved Fr. Esténaga at Mission Dolores. This we know from a letter which he addressed to Governor Figueroa only two months later. The document mirrors Don Mariano's superlative vanity, unlimited conceit, and heartless mendacity, so faithfully that the reader is enabled to infer what treatment the silent Fathers might expect at the hands of such an official. It is therefore reproduced entire as follows:

"I have made various attempts to penetrate to the interior, but, owing to the exceedingly bad roads, I could not succeed. From here I sent word to the pagans and Christians assuring them that they should not be molested if they remained quiet, and I said everything that occurred to me to be to the purpose for winning their confidence. Although those who were sent have not returned promptly, I was at last informed that my promises and assurance have had a good effect among them, because the good treatment, which they had received from me

and my troops, was sufficient proof. The majority are so amazed at seeing themselves kindly received and treated with sweetness,[1] that they regard me as a great captain. Likewise some of the corporals, by my orders, (treat them kindly) whereas they had, by command of the missionaries[2] persecuted them (Indians) without ceasing unjustly.[3]

"It is necessary, Señor Commandant General, to confess the great acts of violence and injustice committed by those charged with the administration of justice in matters temporal, and with greater magnitude in matters spiritual, regarding the unhappy natives. The abuse of those people (Indians) is the origin or fundamental cause of the most deplorable results that are experienced, and it has exposed to utter ridicule our true Religion, the mildness of the Gospel, and true morality in conduct.

"At the same time it is necessary to concede to these unhappy people the right to demand justice in large numbers, in order to make themselves feared, and to continue in hostile attitude. These are the natural consequences of the bad faith, the maltreatment and cruelty on the part of the missionaries, and of the sanguinary system which they introduced with a view to persuade people that this is the method and manner of Jesus Christ. What monstrosities! It would not be difficult for me to present to Your Honor some cases which actually occurred at the Missions of this district, and such, indeed, as would

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[1] Well might the distrustful Indians stand amazed and hesitate to come promptly; for the treatment they received from Vallejo and his troops was anything but sweet. They doubtless remembered the butcheries committed under Vallejo near Mission San José in 1829. Details belong to Mission San José, which the reader will find in *The Missions,* iii, 305-306; in Hittéll, ii, 117-118; in Bancroft, iii, 114.

[2] Which is absurd, as the solders took no commands from the missionaries.

[3] Which is pure calumny, as the reports of all foreign visitors prove. Vallejo was cunning enough not to mention specific cases. Nor did Governor Figueroa attach any weight to the charges.

horrify the most ferocious man,[4] but I omit them, because this is not the proper occasion, and also because I wish to cut short my report.—San Francisco, May 5, 1833. Vallejo."[5]

It would seem that since they had successfully revolted against Governor Manual Victoria, and had banished him to Mexico in February, 1832, the paisano upstarts were trying to outdo one another at invectives; and, as their ultimate aim was the destruction of the Missions so as to secure the property for themselves and friends, the defenseless missionaries had to bear the onslaught of cupidity's wrath. Vallejo's letter only rehashed what the half dozen members of the territorial assembly had promulgated in justification of their rebellion. "They spoke very bitterly against the friars in their reports of February and May (1832)," Bancroft relates. "By means of their wealth, it was charged, and through the fanaticism of the people, the padres had influence, and used it unscrupulously to disseminate Spanish ideas, and plot against[6] the federal system, breaking the laws, corrupting officials and making themselves abhorred by intelligent citizens—that is (Bancroft himself remarks contemptuously) by the writers (paisano chiefs) and their friends. Some had fled to Spain with gold and silver belonging to the Missions. Their commercial frauds were well known. Why should they be allowed to profane our institutions and propagate among the young and ignorant their sentiments in favor of Fernando VII? Why had not the laws against them been enforced in California as elsewhere? By them the neophytes were cruelly beaten, forced to work, treated as slaves, without having obtained the slightest benefit from sixty years of mission training."—"Truly Pico, Vallejo and Osio were becoming very radical republicans and ardent patriots, according to the Mexican ideal. However, they were angry at the time and were

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[4] One cannot help concluding that many of the reckless tales of missionary cruelty originated with this inveterate prevaricator.

[5] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ii, 224-225.

[6] The plotters adopt the ruse of the thief, who, finding himself chased, yells "Thief! Thief!"

declaiming for effect in Mexico,"[7] and encouraging one another lest the plot against the Missions might grow cold, Bancroft might have added, for that was the real grievance of the paisano chiefs against noble Governor Manuel Victoria, who had declined to aid them in their unscrupulous schemes.

If, instead of all this claptrap, those would-be statesmen had consulted their duty to the Creator, whose "true Religion, mild Gospel and true morality" by language and conduct they were reviling and "exposing to utter ridicule," they would have devised ways and means for promoting the cause of Religion by defending the property rights of the neophytes and assisting the missionaries in their burdensome task. All the world over, remembering the solicitude of the Divine Shepherd for the sheep, even the one lost out of ninety-and-nine, priests and Religious conduct missions for the conversion of pagans. These ministers of Religion are sent out to build churches and schools, to teach agriculture and mechanical arts if need be, segregating the converts from the savages on the land of the natives, as was the case in California. The very Indian Reservations in the United States are serving that same purpose in order to make law-abiding subjects of such natives. Does any one but a landshark think of conspiring with others to destroy such a system, the duplicate of the California Mission System, in order to secure the property of such converts? Yet, that is what the paisano chiefs like Pio Pico, Mariano Vallejo, Alvarado, the Castros, etc., were endeavoring to effect at the period that engages our attention. For that purpose they were, like vile birds that befoul their own nest, slandering the unselfish ministers of the Church in charge of the coveted Mission property.

Fortunately, Governor José Figueroa, like Governor Victoria, judged the character of the schemers correctly, so that arguments like those proposed by Vallejo only aroused his contempt, and stronger suspicions which he communicated to the Mexican Minister of Relations in a confidential letter of July 24, 1833. He "warned against a 'clique of conceited and

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[7] Bancroft, *California,* iii, 313-314.

ignorant men,' who were plotting to separate California from Mexico, and as means to that end would do all in their power through their representative, Bandini, to secure a separation of the military and civil commands, and give the office of *gefe politico* (civil governor) to a Californian. He declared himself strongly opposed to any such change, as there was not one single Californian even tolerably qualified for the office."[8] Bancroft thinks that the charge of a plan to secede from Mexico was false. He forgets that Alvarado in his *Historia,* iii, 205-210, dictated to Bancroft's scribe, and which is still in the Bancroft Collection, early in January, 1837, four years after Figueroa's warning, confesses to having had a flag ready at Santa Barbara, to be unfurled as soon as Fr. Prefecto Narcisco Durán had blessed it. The flag bore the inscription *Independencia de California* painted by Alvarado himself. Only the refusal of Fr. Durán to bless the disloyal banner put an end to the scheme.[9] Bancroft's claim that Figueroa was prompted by ambition will not hold good. The historian knows that Figueroa, always in ill health, had repeatedly asked to be relieved from office, and continued only upon command from President Santa Anna not to deliver the governorship to José M. Hijar of the Padrés-Hijar-Bandini swindling concern.[10]

Returning to the commandant of the San Francisco presidio, we find that Vallejo might well have swept before his own door, and applied to his handful of soldiers some of the sweetness with which he pretended to be overflowing. In October, 1833, only five months after slandering the missionaries, Governor Figueroa's attention was called to a little revolt at San Francisco, where a few soldiers, including the guards of Santa Clara, attempted to get rid of their comandante, Mariano Vallejo, whom they accused of ill treating them, chiefly in the matter of furnishing food and clothing. Vallejo, in conse-

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8 Bancroft, iii, 247-248.

9 *Santa Barbara Mission,* 192-193; *The Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 64-65.

10 *The Missions,* iii, 507-512.

quence, became very angry, and demanded the infliction of severe penalties, but a court-martial merely ordered the transfer of eight men to other presidios, which was probably just what they desired in preference to serving under the pompous Don Mariano.[11]

"Throughout the year 1833," Bancroft relates,[12] "at frequent intervals Mariano Vallejo complained that the soldiers of his company at San Francisco were in great destitution, and that the missionaries did not furnish sufficient food for the garrison, or even for the guards." In reply to Governor Figueroa's note on the subject, Fr. García Diego of Santa Clara Mission wrote: "Mariano Vallejo asked me for *mantéca*[13], and I gave him what little there was. He would not accept it, because the vessel was opened. He wanted mutton from me, and I furnished it with pleasure. He demanded shoes, and I gave all that were on hand, four pairs. I do not know what may be the cause of such bitter complaints of Don Guadalupe (Vallejo). I know very well that the Spanish Fathers aided the garrisons, but likewise that they never brought the things to the presidios; the latter sent for them. I feel it deeply that this ensign (Vallejo) sends such bad reports to Your Honor. . . . I shall furnish what aid I can, but they will see for themselves that, if anything is lacking, it is because the Missions do not have it."[14]

Fr. González Rúbio of Mission San José was also pestered by the inconsiderate Vallejo. He accordingly forwarded sixty fanégas (100 bushels) of corn, ten fanégas of beans, two fanégas of lentils, two fanégas of garbanzos, half a fanéga of peas and twenty dollars' worth of soap. In reporting these supplies to Figueroa, Fr. Rúbio, who, after an acquaintance of but three months, had penetrated the mind of the blustering

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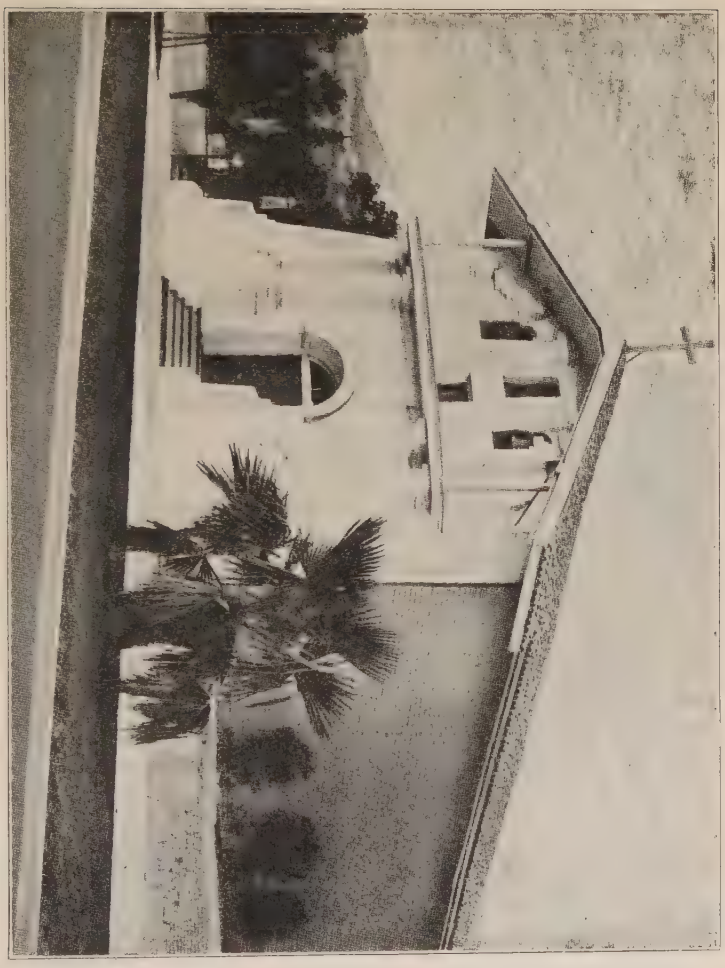
[11] *Bancroft,* iii, 248.

[12] *California,* iii, 322.

[13] Mantéca, tallow drippings for cooking purposes.

[14] Fr. Garcia Diego to Figueroa, June 15 and 25, 1833. *Archbishop's Archives,* nos. 2139, 2144.



THE CHURCH OF MISSION DOLORES. NOT DAMAGED BY THE EARTHQUAKE OF 1906

young ensign, enlightened the governor to this effect: "This, Señor, is the small remittance which I was able to make to the presidio of San Francisco. Let not their exaggerated declamations disturb you. There will be not wanting some one to picture to Your Honor a distress which he perhaps does not suffer, but, even though it be so, I am not the cause of it after I have done what I could, nor does it seem to me a demerit of mine for which I should, with malignant pen, be indirectly blackened while it is intended perhaps to cool in the generous bosom of Your Honor the great esteem with which you honor me. God keep Your Honor, etc."[15]

We have not been able to discover what demands were made upon poor Mission Dolores at this date, because there is hardly any correspondence extant of the missionary in charge. However, according to Bancroft,[16] "Figueroa issued an order December 1st (1833), fixing the yearly[17] amount of supplies to be furnished by the missions of Monterey and San Francisco jurisdiction,[18] including live stock with which to replenish the national ranchos. The requisition was for 1,458 fanégas (2,430 bushels) of wheat, 318 *fanégas* (530 bushels) of beans, 936 *arróbas* (23,400 pounds) of *mantéca* or tallow drippings, 50 cargos (18,750 pounds) of flour, $1,632 worth of soap, 834 pairs of shoes, 139 blankets, 80 shields, 80 leather jackets, 80 saddles, 20 ploughshares, 12 axes, shovels, hoes, pickaxes and crowbars, four adzes, chisels and saws. Then, as a loan to be repaid in six years, 200 broken horses, 34 packmules, 1,690 cows and heifers, 810 steers and bulls, 200 mares and foals and 20 oxen for the national ranchos. As no ironware was produced, the Missions had to import it, and after paying the custom duties, deliver it transformed into the articles demanded

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[15] Fr. Rúbio to Figueroa, June 22, 1833. *Archb. Arch.*, No. 2141.

[16] *California*, iii, 322.

[17] We believe Bancroft misread the document, as may be inferred from the remark that the cattle were to be returned in six years. It appears to be but one of the periodical, forced contributions.

[18] A similar order, doubtless, went to the two southern districts.

by the troops. In return they received a so-called draft on bankrupt Mexico.

Each Mission was directed to furnish the supplies in proportion to the number of its neophytes. The seven Missions of the Monterey district contained about 3,000 Indians, only 160 of whom, "half of them invalids through age or infirmity," dwelt at San Carlos. The five Missions of the San Francisco jurisdiction had about 4,000 neophytes, only 200 of whom belonged to Dolores. These 7,000 convert Indians, men, women and children, many of whom aged, feeble, or, ill, were therefore compelled to furnish this forced contribution for which they received nothing in return but a scrap of paper on which nothing was ever realized. To put it bluntly, these neophyte Indians, practically, were punished for being Christians, since the pagan Indians in their rancherias, or the numerous class that served the white people independently of the Missions, were never taxed for anything. They were furthermore punished for having as redskins• acquired habits of industry, whereas the *indolent hijos del pais* whiled away their days in doing nothing.

Only nine months previously, February 21, 1833, just before the Zacatecan Fathers took charge, Fr. Comisário Prefecto Narciso Durán was "requested to command the (five) Missions of the San Francisco jurisdiction to furnish, for four or six months, all the grain which the garrison of Monterey consumes, calculating fifty *fanégas* of corn and twenty *fanégas* of beans, besides forty-five *arróbas*[19] of mantéca a month!"[20]

Five months after his order of December 1, 1833, for supplies to the two presidios, Figueroa appealed to Fr. Durán to aid the troops of the Santa Barbara and San Diego jurisdiction. He wrote: "Owing to the extreme need in which I am for want of means with which to pay for the support of troops, who have not received any pay for the last twenty years, I am compelled to take steps which I would gladly avoid. They are having a

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[19] An arróba was equivalent to 25 lbs.; a fanéga was equal to 100 lbs.

[20] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Benicia,* lxxix, 49.

wretched and exasperating existence[21], and even this has to be made possible by begging from the Missions because the revenues of the territory do not cover one-fourth part of the wages and salaries of the civil and military officials.[22]. . . You will observe that I beg for a loan[23] of cattle and implements, for the purpose of establishing national ranchos which are to help defray the expenses *and to relieve the Missions of such a burden.* I ask for hides, rifle cases, trappings, horses, etc. . . . Likewise I ask for fifty cargos[24] of flour to make certain kinds of biscuits needed on expeditions. Finally, I ask for oxen and implements for cultivation in order to raise something for the support of the soldiers."[25]

From this letter of the governor it is clear that for twenty and more years the Indian neophytes, under the guidance of the missionaries, had provided for three-fourths of the cost of the civil and military government of the territory through forced contributions. Only one-fourth was supplied from revenues obtained through custom duties and other taxes levied on settlers and the Missions alike, so that even this one-fourth was made up to a large extent from additional taxes paid by the Missions! Figueroa seems to have felt the injustice, the shame and the cruelty of it all, and therefore determined that the Indian neophytes should be relieved of the burden by compelling the beneficiaries of the forced contributions to conduct

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[21] Mostly due to their indolence and improvidence.

[22] "Las rentas de la foederacion con que se cuenta en el territorio, no alcanzan á cubrir la quarta parte de lo que importan los sueldos de los empleados civiles y militares."

[23] Under this title the Missions in the end had supplied nearly a million dollars' worth of supplies, and received nothing in return. What wonder if the buildings could not be kept in repair, and the neophytes themselves went hungry and ill-dressed!

[24] Cargo, the load a mule would carry, 300 to 375 lbs., hence 15,000 to 18,500 lbs., or from 80 to 95 barrels! There was no solicitude expressed for the neophytes.

[25] Figueroa to Fr. Durán, April 30, 1834. *Archb. Arch.*, no. 2169. See details in *The Missions*, iii, 553-555.

farms and stock yards for their own support. Such national ranches had been established in various places many years before, for instance, down the peninsula of San Francisco on land belonging to Mission Dolores, but all had failed. While agriculture and stock-raising on a grand scale at the Missions succeeded marvelously, despite opposition such as Neve offered, these national farms under the management of Mexicans or paisanos ere long came to nothing. This fact alone demonstrates that the friars managed their trust in a business-like manner and conscientiously. Figueroa pleaded, asked, he did not command that the Fathers make a last heroic effort to supply the live stock, articles and grain indicated. They did so, but the ranchos failed to materialize. The paisano chiefs had other plans, and they prepared to intimidate Figueroa to comply with them, as will appear presently.

What aggravated the wrong committed against the Missions was that the settlers and merchants, whose property was no more private than that of the Indian Missions, were never molested with forced contributions. Probably the governors knew that a revolt would be the answer to a request to contribute all kinds of goods for the good of the shiftless defenders (!?) of the country.

CHAPTER XIX

An Arch-Conspirator.—Schemes Against Mission Property.—Helpmates.—Colonization Plan.—Juan Bandini.—The Real Purpose.—The Colonists.—First Secularization Act.—Hijar's Instructions.—Bancroft Shocked.—President Santa Anna Saves the Missions.—Conspirators Foiled.—Hypocritical Legislature.—Schemers Banished.—Figueroa Opposed to "Secularization."—Fails to Have Neophytes Leave the Missions.—His Sound Reflections and Unanswerable Arguments Against "Secularization."—Neophytes the Real Owners.—Plenty of Land Outside the Missions.

MEANWHILE crafty schemers in Mexico were plotting to obtain possession of the Mission lands in California, but the initiative was not taken by the Mexican government. The plan was directed by "José M. Padrés, a most radical republican in the Mexican sense of the term."[1] Arriving from Lower California at San Diego on July 1, 1830, as adjutant-inspector of the troops, "he soon became a leading spirit among the young Californians just becoming prominent in public life, intensified their nascent republicanism, taught them to theorize eloquently on the rights of man, the wrongs of the neophytes and the tyranny of the missionaries, and if he also held before the eyes of the Carrillos, Osios, Vallejos, Picos, Alvarados, Bandinis and others bright visions of the rich estates to be administered by them or their friends, their young enthusiasm should by no means be termed hypocrisy or a desire for plunder. . . . His influence was long felt in California through his teachings of the young men who later controlled the country."[2] His intrigues proved so detrimental to the country that Governor Manuel Victoria, one of the two clean and upright rulers of the whole Mexican period, banished the arch-conspirator from the territory as disloyal and as chief fomenter of discontent.

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[1] Bancroft, iv, 765.

[2] Bancroft, iii, 184; iv, 765.

Padrés vowed that he would return to execute his designs against the Missions, and immediately set to work finding kindred spirits who would aid him. In Mexico he enlisted José M. Híjar, a man of wealth and of some influence, for his project. "By the spring of 1833, the two had devised a project of taking a colony to California,"[3] as a preliminary measure. Political changes in the so-called republic favored the plotters, for on April 1, 1833, Valentin Gómez Farias, a warm personal friend of Padrés, became Acting-President of Mexico, and continued in power till October, long enough to help his friend and Híjar to accomplish their purpose. To fill their cup of happiness, late in June or early in July came a letter from Governor Figueroa, dated March 25, 1833, only two months after his arrival in California, asking to be relieved of his office on account of ill health. This "would throw the military command into the hands of Padrés himself, he as adjutante-inspector being already second in rank.[4] Better still, he succeeded through his influence with the Acting-President (Farias) in obtaining for his associate Híjar on July 15th, the appointment of *gefe politico* (civil governor). Next day the same man (Híjar) was appointed director of colonization, or of the colony in process of organization. Padrés himself, by the Minister of Relations, was made sub-director.

"About this time there appeared on the scene to represent California in congress a new deputy to take the place of Carlos A. Carrillo—none other than Juan Bandini, who, as luck would have it, was one of Padrés's northern disciples, and who lost no time in identifying himself with the new schemes.[5] Largely by influence of the combination, the law of August 17, 1833, was passed, requiring immediate secularization of the mis-

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[3] Bancroft, iii, 259.

[4] Farias, on July 12, 1833, directed Padrés to proceed to California and assume the military command if Figueroa desired to leave the territory. Hittéll, ii, 190-191.

[5] Bandini on July 29, 1833, offered a bill in congress separating the military command from the civil governorship in California, just what Figueroa had disapproved.

sions, and a supplementary decree on November 26th, authorizing the adoption of such measures as might be necessary to assure colonization and carry secularization into effect, using 'in the most *convenient manner the revenues of the Pious Fund*[6] to furnish resources for the commission and the families now in this capital bound for that territory.' Truly, the ayudante inspector's star was in the ascendant, all obstacles to the success of his schemes, whatever those schemes were, being apparently removed."[7]

The colonists enlisted numbered about 250 persons, men, women and children. The men, Bancroft insists, were of a class far superior to any that had before been sent as settlers to California. At all events, among those who came with the colony were Ignacio Coronel and family, Augustin Olvera, Augustin Janssens and others who became prominent. Hittéll, who voices the opinion of Alvarado and other paisano chiefs, declares that "they consisted almost exclusively of the vagabond class." Forbes, then at San Blas, says "they were of every class of persons except that which would have been useful, for there was not one agriculturist amongst them; they consisted of artizans and idlers who had been made to believe that they would soon enrich themselves in idleness in this happy country."[8] The emigrants started out from the capital in April, and about July 23rd, reached San Blas, whence they set sail in two vessels on August 1st, accompanied by Padrés, Híjar and Juan Bandini, all in high spirits on account of the success their enterprises had thus far experienced. We must leave them here in order to deal with a matter that concerns the Missions more directly, and which was really at the bottom of the conspirators' expectations.

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[6] So a wholesale steal of Church property! for the Pious Fund had been established for the propagation and maintenance of Religion in California. This alone suffices to mark the character of the Farias-Padrés-Híjar-Bandini clique.

[7] Bancroft, iii, 259-261.

[8] Bancroft, iii, 261-262; Hittéll, ii, 191; Forbes, *California,* 142-143. For details see *The Missions,* iii, 357-358, 361, 504-507.

The Padrés-Hijar combination could not have hoped to succeed with their plot, had not the Mexican Congress been induced to pass decrees under cover of which they might proceed. A preliminary act was the decree of August 17, 1833, which authorized the government to secularize the Missions of California. These were to be called curacies or parishes, and to be in charge of secular priests. The decree made no mention of the Indians and of their lands, so there appeared to be little comfort in the law for the would-be land grabbers, but the very omission looked ominous. A decree of Congress passed on November 26th, revealed the aims of the conspirators more clearly, in that it authorized the government to use even the Pious Fund for the benefit of the colonists, as was stated before. Anything unscrupulous might be expected after that. On April 16, 1834, about two weeks previous to the departure of the colonists from the Capital, Congress reaffirmed the decree of August 17, 1833, and directed that it was to take effect four months from the date of publication. Seven days later, April 23, Farias,[9] through Minister of Relations Francisco M. Lombardo, issued his *Instrucciones* to Hijar. They contained fifteen articles, which in substance were as follows: I. He will take possession of all the property belonging to the Missions of Both Californias.[10] The military commander[11] is to furnish all the aid required. 2. For one year after their arrival each colonist is to receive fifty cents a day, or twenty-five cents if under four years of age. 3. The traveling expenses are to be paid by the government,[12] and the colonists are to receive the equipment bought for their transportation.

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[9] Who had become Acting-President when Santa Anna temporarily retired in December, 1833. It seems Farias was acting on his own responsibility altogether.

[10] So, wholesale robbery of what belonged to the Indians.

[11] Padrés, as we have seen, who would aid his boon companion, "Governor" Hijar, with sword and musket, if need be! It was all nicely planned, indeed.

[12] From the Pious Fund, as already intimated.

4. This article treats of sites for settlements. 5. Deals with frontier settlements. 6. Speaks of new towns. 7. Special care shall be taken to attach the Indians to the settlements, *mixing them with the other inhabitants, but not permitting any settlement composed of Indians exclusively.* 8. Deals with house lots. 9. Each family of colonists is to receive certain lands, live stock and implements.[13] 10. Farming lands are to be granted in full ownership.[14] After the movable property belonging to the Missions has been distributed, one-half of what is left shall be sold. 12. Not over two hundred head of live stock shall be sold to one family. 13. The remaining half of the movable property shall be devoted to paying the expenses of divine worship, *for the* support of the priests, education and the purchase of implements for the *colonists.* 14. The governor and director is to report annually on the property. 15. He is also to report once a year on the condition of the colonists.[15]

In all this absolutely no provisions were made for the neophytes, the owners of the lands, who with the missionaries had created all this wealth to be taken from them! They were to be scattered among the Mexican intruders, for whom they might slave, but possess no realty of their own. Even Bancroft is shocked at the audacious brutality of the schemers. "I deem it unlikely," he writes, "that there was any intention of perpetrating so gross an outrage as was implied in a literal interpretation of the instructions."

Was there ever a more wicked and heartless scheme concocted by men who pretended to be civilized and Christians! Drive 17,000 Indian converts from their twenty-one peaceful mission homes, which they had reared and from the native lands which they had cultivated, so that strangers might enjoy the fruit of this neophyte labor! For the honor of the Christian name, it was well that those conscienceless freebooters

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[13] "From the mission property of course," Bancroft explains.

[14] To the colonists, of course, as the neophytes are not mentioned.

[15] Bancroft, iii, 273, 344; *The Missions,* iii, 508-509.

boasted of belonging to the Liberal Sect or Party, which in Mexico was and still is anti-Christian, since it dealt and deals with property pertaining to Religion in the same ruthless manner intended to be employed by the Hijar-Padrés combination in the case of the California Indian Missions. Yet Bancroft[16] asserts that the arch-liberal leader "Gómez Farias was a man of strict moral principles, conscientious, unselfish!"

When President Santa Anna, about the middle of July, discovered the tricks played by the vice-president, he endeavored to overtake the colonists before they could set sail at San Blas, but the two ships had already departed, when his orders arrived at the port. Santa Anna then dispatched a courier to California overland with orders for Governor Figueroa not to surrender his office to Hijar, but to stay at his post. This likewise excluded Padrés, because according to law Figueroa in his person combined both the civil and military command over California. The messenger was promised $3,000 in reward if he reached his destination before the colonist chiefs arrived at Monterey. He succeeded, after making the hazardous journey on horseback in forty-five days, the quickest trip on record over the same route. Figueroa received the despatches of the President on September 11, 1834. Two weeks later, September 25th, Padrés with a portion of the colonists landed at Monterey, and at once claimed the position of military commander of California. Figueroa informed Padrés that he himself held the office and would continue in its exercise by order of the President. Then the disappointed schemer presented his appointment as assistant director of colonization, and demanded the requisite aid for his people. Figueroa declined on the ground that he had received no instructions to that effect. On October 14th, Hijar with the remainder of the immigrants came up from San Diego by land, expecting to be placed in the office of governor without delay. When the governor showed him the President's order forbidding the transfer of the civil governorship, Hijar felt bitterly disappointed, but then pre-

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[16] *Mexico*, v, 138.

sented his commission as director of colonization, and demanded to be put in possession of the mission property in accord with the first article of his *Instrucciones.*

Figueroa, quite sure of the result of the deliberation, placed Híjar's demands before the legislative assembly on October 17th. "The members of that body," Bancroft relates, "had been a few years earlier admirers and partisans of Padrés, or at least were largely under the influence of those partisans, such as Bandini, Vallejo and Osio, but, though we may be sure the ayudante inspector exerted all his eloquence and influence to retain the favor of his old[17] friends, his power over them seems to have been lost. Vallejo and Alvarado admit candidly that the chief reason for this defection was the fact that Padrés had brought with him twenty-one Mexicans to become administrators of the missions; whereas, under the old plans,[18] the Californians were to have those places. Why should they favor a change in favor of strangers? Vallejo, Osio, Alvarado and other Californians denounced the whole colonization plan of Híjar and Padrés as a deliberately concocted plot to plunder the missions under the protection of the highest political and military authorities."[19] The same could be said of their own plan carried out later on under the misnomer *secularization.* In the case of the Híjar-Padrés combination the would-be plunderers were Mexicans, in the case of the Vallejo-Pico-Alvarado clique the plunderers were the sons of Mexicans who preferred to pass as Californians. That was the whole difference. These young Californians regarded the property of the Missions as their legitimate booty which they would not share with outsiders. In denouncing Híjar and Padrés, the Vallejo-Alvarado-Pico combine were actually condemning themselves.

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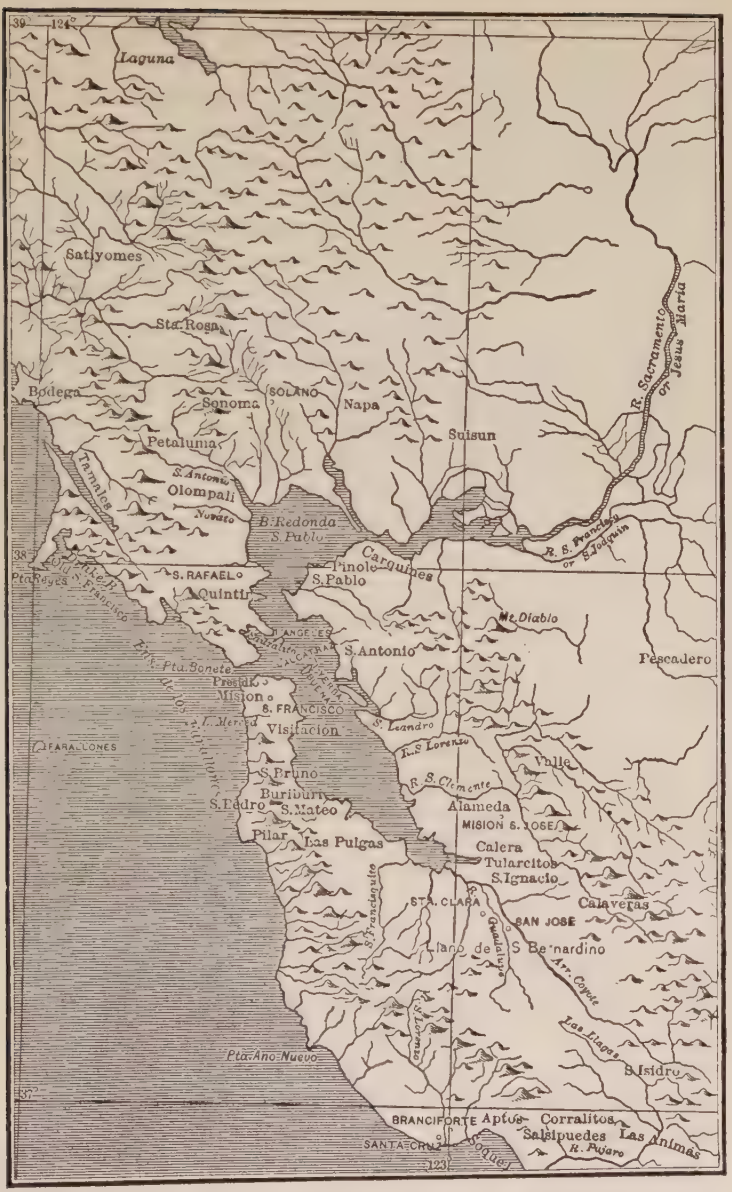
[17] Young in years, however, Vallejo counted twenty-two summers, Alvarado had twenty-one to his credit.

[18] For the frustrating of which the young paisano chiefs had driven Governor Manuel Victoria from the territory.

[19] Bancroft, iii, 274, 264. See for details of the whole sordid story *The Missions,* iii, 504-514; Hittéll, ii, 190-195.



THE SAN FRANCISCO MISSION DISTRICT

The legislative assembly finally rejected the claims of the Mexican leaders. A majority of the colonists were then brought together at Sonoma, but the idea of establishing a new town there was abandoned. Each settler was thereupon permitted to select his own place of residence, and thus the members were scattered over the territory, a fate which the leaders had marked out for the poor neophytes! Híjar and Padrés were in the end banished from the country, both taking passage on board the *Rosa* at San Francisco on March 26, 1835.[20]

Unfortunately, the unChristian notions, which Padrés especially had instilled into the young Californians, remained behind and became the guiding rule of the would-be statesmen headed by Pio Pico, Vallejo, Alvarado and others. The covetous clan was now more eager than ever for the possession of the Mission property, lest some power snatch it from their grasp, or the missionaries wilfully destroy it, as some in blind passion pretended that the Fathers could be capable of, which shows how little Religion was left in the paisano chiefs. Although Governor Figueroa, as a Mexican Liberal, was not averse to removing the friars from the management, he could see no justice in compelling the neophytes to share the fruits of their labor with those who craved it, but had done nothing to produce it. A tour of inspection through the territory as far as San Diego during the month of July, 1833, confirmed him in his judgment that it would be safe for the country and better for the neophytes to let the missionary establishments alone. He reported the results of his investigation to the Mexican Government under date of October 5, 1833. The document is too long for reproduction here,[21] but the salient points read as follows:

"I have by every means possible endeavored to acquaint myself with the state of civilization reached by the neophytes. Meanwhile the news has reached me that in Congress a project is under discussion for the total secularization of these Missions, and for the distribution of their lands and property. . . I

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[20] *The Missions,* iii, 510-511.

[21] *The Missions,* iii, 496-500.

believe that the measure for a general secularization is premature. It must be effected by degrees, partially, and with some tact, in a way that would hardly be noticed. Otherwise, with one blow the labor of many years will be destroyed. An absolute and sudden change must of necessity cause general confusion, and irreparable havoc.[22] These natives are scarcely domesticated and as yet very little civilized. They are as silly as children, so that it is necessary to lead them as by the hand to civilization. Let the reforms demanded for their better civil and religious education be introduced at a seasonable moment, so that they may be able to grasp the right of possessing land, but let not with one blow the Missions be destroyed. Such a remedy is worse than the evil. To think otherwise seems to me an error, to repair which vain regrets will be useless.

"When I informed Your Excellency (President of Mexico) that I had commenced to emancipate some of the neophytes by giving them some land and goods that they might establish themselves, I also indicated my opinion with regard to a total secularization of the Missions, which, as I view the matter, might be prejudicial rather than beneficial. Today, as I reaffirm these ideas, after I have acquired more information, I have reason to persist in them and not to change my mind.

"I myself have personally ordered more than sixty families at Mission San Diego, and more than one hundred at Mission San Luis Rey, to be registered with a view to emancipate them from the control of the missionaries, and to found a pueblo. I allotted lands to them with water from the Mission supply itself, also live stock and everything necessary for establishing themselves. I collected them and accompanied them to their new habitations. I explained to them the advantages they were about to acquire, and the liberty they were to enjoy, yet I had the grief to hear them *rufuse everything for the sake of*

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22 Figueroa's words were prophetic, for that was the result when later on sordid cupidity wrested the decree of "secularization" from him.

remaining in the servitude[23] *in which they had lived,* and no arguments were powerful enough to convince them. . .

"It remains for me to make a few reflections on the proposed law touching the Mission property. It commands that the property should be divided among the Indians, the troops, and the inhabitants, natives as well as foreigners! I call the attention of Your Excellency to this point in order that you may bear in mind that the *movable as well as the immovable property are the exclusive fruit of the labor of the neophytes. They alone sacrificed themselves for the acquisition of such property.* From this property every passer-by was succored and aided. From it, in part and for many years, the troops of the territory have been supported. From it the expenses of Divine Worship and of its ministers are paid, churches erected, vestments purchased and all manner of buildings are constructed. From it, in short, the inhabitants of California in various ways are maintained. Many, Sir, are the exactions made upon *this Mission property, which belongs solely to the neophytes through whose labor it has accumulated and has been preserved.* It would be much to the point to find out *for what reason they should be despoiled of it, or by what right it should be enjoyed by other people whom it cost nothing.* . . . There are extensive tracks which need settlers. There the foreigners may obtain for cultivation the land which they want."[24]

Figueroa stated the situation exactly. With the Mission despoilers and hostile writers it was the fashion to picture the missionaries as the owners for whom the neophytes had to slave without compensation, except that they received food and clothing. Cupidity and bigotry on that ground declared the confiscation of the Mission property justifiable. Figueroa, in

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[23] Figueroa himself had declared that the neophytes were children. The missionaries kindly treated them as such. They were the wards of the realm, and the missionaries were their lawfully constituted guardians, who, however, served without compensation. In this "servitude" the neophytes must have felt happy and contented, since the governor himself could not induce them to leave it.

[24] *The Missions,* iii, 496-500.

accord with the Spanish law recognized by Mexico, maintained that *the Mission property belonged exclusively to the neophytes.* The Franciscans always impressed it upon the minds of the convert Indians that whatever they earned belonged to them, and would be preserved for them till the time when they should be capable of managing it themselves. This prospect, apart from their religious convictions, attached them to the Mission Fathers, who shared in nothing more than the food and clothing.

It was likewise the custom of malevolent writers, and the falsehood is repeated occasionally to this date, to assert that the Missions possessed all the available land from one missionary establishment to another, so that prospective settlers could find no opportunties for making a home for themselves surrounded by sufficient land. Figueroa, on the contrary, declared that there were extensive tracts of untilled land which settlers could render productive in the same way as the neophytes had done, who transformed large areas of dry land, covered with scrub and brushwood, into fertile acres that yielded rich harvests. That, however, meant hard labor and the sacrifice of ease, which was just what the Picos, Bandinis, Alvarados and Vallejos dreaded. They preferred to appropriate the soil already cultivated by the convert Indians. Hence the falsehoods they circulated, and which shallow and unscrupulous authors chose to repeat rather than ascertain the truth which agreed not with their prejudices.

CHAPTER XX

Figueroa Changes His Mind.—Echeandia's Decree.—Bancroft's Judgment.—View of Mexican Government.—Alaman's Amazement.—Law of September 13, 1813.—Figueroa's Instructions.—Failure of Emancipation.—What Might Have Been Successful.—Mariano Vallejo's Ridiculous Effusion.—His Own Brutality.—Figueroa Issues Decree of Confiscation.—Effects.—Bancroft.—Fr. Duran's Revelation.—Hittéll.—Nativist Rule and Consequences.

GOVERNOR JOSE FIGUEROA, unhappily, failed to remain true to the convictions so clearly expressed in his report to the Mexican President. He had returned in ill health from his long journey of inspection, and in course of time grew timorous because the young California plotters insisted that the question of the Missions, which concerned them no more than the estates or property of settlers and merchants, be decided in accord with their unhallowed demands.

As early as July, 1830, his predecessor, Echeandia, had formulated a plan for the removal of the unsalaried Franciscans from the management of the temporalities, the conversion of the Missions into peublos or towns, the distribution of the lands in small lots to the neophytes *and Mexicans,* and for the substitution of salaried administrators to care for what was left. The measure was radical enough to suit the greedy assembly members, who therefore adopted it. Echeandia, thereupon, in September, 1830, sent it to the Government of Mexico for approval. Without waiting for the decision, however, hearing that a new governor, Manuel Victoria, was on the way to California, was in fact already at San Diego, Echeandia, in a proclamation of January 6, 1831, announced his Decree of Mission Secularization, which slightly differed from his Plan for Converting the Missions into Pueblos.

"It was an illegal and even revolutionary measure," says Bancroft himself, "devised by José M. Padrés in supposed furtherance of his own interests or radical theories, and those of a few friends. The territorial government, as Echeandia

well knew, had no power to secularize the missions."[1] Manuel Victoria on taking possession of the office of governor promptly repealed the unauthorized and wicked order, and thereby from the start incurred the hatred of the unscrupulous young Californians now headed by Pio Pico. Ere long they revolted and drove the upright Victoria out of the country.

When Echeandia's Plan and Proclamation reached the Mexican Government about May, 1832, Lucas Alaman, Minister of Relations in the Conservative Bustamante Cabinet, addressed the following lucid and most important letter to the new appointee, José Figueroa, then preparing to set out for his post: "The enclosed document, which I transmit to Your Honor by order of the Vice-President,[2] is a copy of the *Bando* published by Lieutenant-Colonel José Maria de Echeandia in his capacity of *gefe politico* (civil governor) of Upper California. Although its object is said to intend putting into effect the decrees of the Spanish Córtes of September 13, 1813, relative to the missions which existed ten years, and which should immediately be surrendered to the respective bishops, it is to be noted *that Echeandia did not proceed in a matter so delicate in obedience to the law on the subject, but taking a course opposite and contrary to the decree of September 13th, he established agents* (administrators), *of whom the law knows nothing, in order that they might interfere with the administration of the temporalities, notwithstanding that the law requires that the Indians themselves should designate those who are to manage their estates, and that the lands should be divided among them.* This right, without consulting the Supreme Government, Echeandia in said *Bando* has taken away in *such a flagrant manner* as even to determine the persons who shall possess the right, and among whom apportionment should be made, and to allot the live stock of cattle and sheep, by appointing an administrator in whose charge the buildings, the live stock, and all the rest mentioned in the *Bando* should be.

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[1] *California*, i, 304-305.

[2] Anastasio Bustamante, then Acting-President.

Besides this, he assigned the subsistence which the Mission Father is to receive. The most remarkable thing, however, is that he has drawn up these regulations *without consulting the Supreme Government,* as he was obliged to do by reason of the direct dependence in which the territory of California is; nor is there any obstacle for taking the *proper steps with the bishop.*" Alaman then directed Figueroa to restore the Missions to the position they had occupied before Echeandia's decree was published, in case it had to any extent been obeyed. He was, moreover, to study the question in order to ascertain which Missions might be in condition for the secularization in accordance with the law of 1813, and then to report the most expedient plan.[3]

Here we have an authorative declaration of the Supreme Government of Mexico on the law of September 13, 1813, which was passed at the instance of the Bishop-elect of Guiana, South America. It directed that all Indian Missions, which had been established and for ten years had been conducted by priests of religious Orders, should be as to spiritual matters surrendered to the Bishop of the respective diocese, whilst the lands and other property of the missions remained with the neophytes to be managed thereafter by such of their number as they might choose. The law contained nothing new, but rather emphasized what had been the custom in the Spanish dominions for centuries. Nor was it an ironclad measure, for the Bishop, as often happened, for instance in California, might not be in a position to replace the friars by sending priests of the diocese, and the Indians might not be advanced enough to manage their lands properly, in which case the term of years would be extended. At all events, it is clear that this law, like numerous other legislative measures, insisted that the ownership and administration of the lands of the neophytes with their appurtenances *belonged inviolably to the neophytes* independent of any interference from outsiders. Furthermore, it is clear that the decision as to when such a change should take

[3] Alaman to Figueroa, May 17, 1832. See *The Missions,* iii, 468-469.

place rested with the Supreme Government and the Bishop. From all this we can infer how mortified, shocked and indignant the Mexican Government of the period felt at the audacious proceeding and claims of Echeandia.[4]

On the same 17th of May, 1832, Figueroa received, from Minister J. M. Ortíz Monasterio, his official instructions, the fourth article of which read as follows: "Since it is a matter of the greatest necessity that the neophytes rise from the state of abasement to which they find themselves reduced,[5] you will cause to be distributed to such as are fitted for it such fields of the mission lands as they may be capable of cultivating, in order that they may thus become fond of labor, and may go on acquiring property; but the lands necessary for the support of divine worship, schools, and other objects of common utility must be kept undisturbed. By this means, for the mission system another may be gradually substituted, which is more adapted to the interests of the territory, the influence of the missionaries being lessened[6] until they retain only the spiritual administration, and thus in fact the missions may be secularized.[7] Yet for all this, it is necessary to act with prudence and tact, so as to cause no discontent among the missionaries, with whom care is to be taken to preserve the greatest harmony."[8]

In these instructions, too, the right of the Indians to the lands they occupied and cultivated is recognized, inasmuch as the land is to be turned over to them alone, not to outsiders, by degrees, not immediately, until the missionaries found themselves obliged to attend only to the spiritual needs of the neophytes, as they desired, or were relieved by secular priests

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[4] *The Missions,* iii, 95, 136.

[5] Monasterio in this and in other statements shows that he was very much misinformed about the character and condition of the neophytes.

[6] In the control of the temporalities, he doubtless means.

[7] In the sense of the law of 1813, not in the sense of the Mission despoilers.

[8] *Cal. Arch., Missions and Colon.,* ii, 113-114; *The Missions,* iii, 469-470.

sent by the Bishop. Figueroa, as we know from the preceding chapter, made an effort at San Diego to raise the most fitted neophytes from "their abasement." He found, however, that those neophytes had already become fond of laboring in their own interests under the fatherly missionaries, and therefore desired no change in their status. What he reported in consequence has also been related in the preceding chapter.

From what has been said the fairminded reader will see that, if in California the just and considerate policy of the Bustamante Administration had prevailed among the young would-be statesmen, to the intense relief of the friars a secularization of the Missions would in time have come about on the basis of the decree of September 13, 1813, as had been practiced from time immemorial in the case of the convert Indians of Mexico. The lands would have been secured for the neophytes, just as had always been done in Mexico and other Spanish dominions; and then the robbery, misnamed secularization, of the neophyte property, as attempted by the Echeandia-Padrés clique and actually effected by the covetous young Californians, would never have disgraced its authors. Whether the process took ten or ten times ten years was not for greed to decide. The United States is not in a hurry to break up the Indian Reservations, notwithstanding the clamor of landsharks. If it will be found that the Indians possess more land than they need for their support and comfort, by agreement with the Indians some of it may be sold and the proceeds will go to the Indians. That was the demand of the missionaries in California, and for this they were belittled, maligned, and caluminated.

We have been at much pains to state the question clearly, so that the reader may grasp the horror of the acts perpetrated against the neophytes and their tutors by the Mission despoilers. If we discuss the matter more at length in this particular volume, it is because the loud mouthed commandant of the neighboring presidio, Mariano Vallejo, figured conspicuously in the unholy transaction, and especially in blackening the reputation of the unselfish missionaries. When, for instance, Figueroa

on July 15, 1833, launched his untimely decree for the emancipation of neophytes capable of taking care of themselves, only Don Marino applauded the measure in this ridiculous fashion, which faithfully pictures the mind of the unscrupulous blusterer:

"Thanks be to God! The missions or their owners[9] begin to enjoy their civil rights! When I received your letter, I rejoiced exceedingly, for the beginning is made which ordinarily is the most difficult. The tyrants, the missionaries, will now see the difference there is between being free and being slaves or little more. Very much I have celebrated in my heart the freedom which liberates those people out of the clutches of the missionaries. The source of men and dollars, though late, will now run dry for the friars."[10]

We can hardly blame the ignorant and malevolent romancers of the past for picturing the poor, unsalaried, barefooted California missionaries like unto the heartless Irish landlords or southern slave masters, if they had access to no other source of information than the senseless mouthings of the young paisano chiefs, notably of Vallejo. However, at the ripe age of twenty-five years Don Mariano felt big for being able to employ the jargon of the infidel mentors like the Frenchman Victor Prudon (Prudhomme) and the Mexican radical José Padrés; but Vallejo would have found it difficult to show by what right he dared call himself a Catholic. Catholics do not speak of their priests in that shameless, unwarranted, and unwarrantable style. Furthermore, Vallejo would have been wise if he had kept his own counsel; for in the matter of tyrannizing and

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[9] Vallejo here acknowledges that the neophytes were the owners of the Mission property. It is the only statement that is true in the silly effusion. Later we shall see how he and his kind treated the said property and the Indian owners.

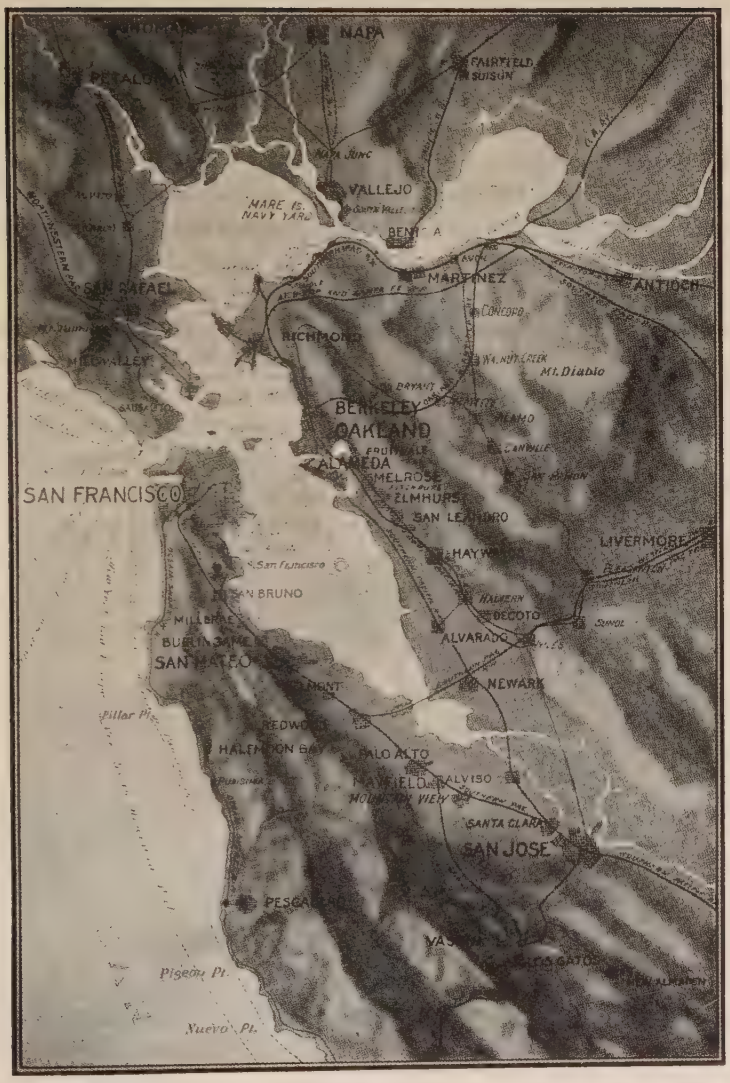
[10] Vallejo to Figueroa, October 3, 1833; *The Missions,* iii, 485. At conservative Santa Barbara the population of that period had little respect for Don Mariano's unselfishness. They would say: "Quien robó, Hasta viéjo?—Vallejo." Which means: "Who robbed till he went gray?—Vallejo."

enslaving neophyte Indians, few Californians, if any, surpassed him. For instances of his heartless disregard of the feelings and rights of either neophytes or missionaries, we must refer the readers to the narrative on Mission San Francisco Solano (Sonoma), where this pompous Don Guadalupe ruled supreme after 1834. In the meantime they may consult *The Missions,* vol. iii, 581-590, notably 586-588, for Fr. Quíjas's awful indictment of Vallejo's tyrannical administration. Unlike Don Mariano, the Father relates specific facts.

Notwithstanding that in July, 1833, he had counseled the Mexican Government not to adopt any measure for the secularization of the Missions, Governor Figueroa on August 9, 1834, was led to issue his Reglamento Provisional for their secularization, which had been discussed in the secret sessions of the legislative assembly on July 30 and 31, 1834. In a nutshell, the decree provided that the administration of the temporalities, that is to say the management of the movable and immovable property, should be taken from the unsalaried missionaries and turned over to salaried officials appointed by the governor. The salary should be paid from the income of the Missions, which were therefore burdened to that extent. The missionaries should be transformed into curates, and the Missions in spiritual affairs should be curacies. The curates were to have a salary and pay board for their maintenance, hence practically homeless. The neophytes were to continue working for the community, although each head of a family, and each single person over twenty years of age, was to receive a lot of land not more than 400 nor less than 100 yards square. One-half of the live stock was to be distributed to these so-called emancipated Indians, also of the implements, etc. The other half was to be managed for the benefit of the community by the salaried administrator.[11]

To this piece of legislation may be applied what Minister Alaman had to say of the similar decree of Echeandia: "It established agents of which *the law* (of September 13, 1813),

[11] *The Missions,* iii, 523-533.



SAN FRANCISCO AND VICINITY AT THE PRESENT TIME

knows nothing, etc.; and it has been drawn up *without consulting the Supreme Government.*" [12]

Thus, by signing this iniquitous measure, José Figueroa went back on his own convictions; contradicted his honest report of the previous year; declared public property what in accord with the Supreme Government[13] he had affirmed to *be the private property of the neophytes;*[14] burdened the already over-taxed Missions with salaries of unnecessary officials; reduced the neophytes to slavery inasmuch as the decree deprived the neophytes of the ownership of the lands, yet compelled them to labor at the behest of the heartless administrators; and rendered homeless the unselfish missionaries, who with their neophytes had created the wealth for the sole benefit of their Indian wards. The act was nothing less than an enormous crime against justice and humanity, a wholesale robbery under cover of legal verbiage. It was null and void from the outset, as it had been hastily enacted *without the consent of the Supreme Government of Mexico.* How was it possible for a man to reverse himself in so short a time?

Bancroft himself was not edified at the legislative proceedings and gubernatorial proclamation. He finds an explanation at the expense of the governor. "Figueroa's act," he writes, "if somewhat less arbitrary and uncalled for than that of Echeandia, *was none the less a trick.* . . . Both knew perfectly well that they had strictly *no legal right to act in the matter.*"[15]

Fr. Narciso Durán, the fearless Presidente of the southern Franciscans (Fernandinos), thought less harsh of Figueroa, and placed the blame where the decree evidently originated.

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[12] See Alaman's letter a few pages back.

[13] See *The Missions,* iv, 26, where Minister Espinosa on October 19, 1831, declares: "The property of the Missions has never been and must not be looked upon as the property of the public domain."

[14] *The Missions,* iii, 499.

[15] *California,* iii, 341.

He says: "The Californians[16] threatened to rebel, and thus intimidated the pusillanimous Figueroa to such a degree that, contrary to his own judgment, he acceded to the demands and threats[17] of the territorial legislators of that period, and sanctioned the shameful 'secularization' which has ruined the Missions in spiritual and temporal matters."[18]

Hittéll on general principles the avowed enemy of the missionaries, acknowledges that, "though it required some years to finish the ruin of the missionary establishments, this was the commencement of it. As for the Indian pueblos, which were to take their place, there was no success in any of them. Nor was any to be expected."[19] Bancroft found himself obliged to make the same confession. "The essential conditions for carrying into effect the reglamento of secularization," he says, "did not exist in California, and (so) failure was inevitable."[20]

The first article of the decree forced from the luckless Figueroa claimed that "the governor, in accord with the spirit of the law of August 17, 1833,[21] and with his instructions received from the Supreme Government, and acting in accord with the prelates of the missionary religious," proceeded to convert the Missions into pueblos.—Every one of these statements was untrue. The law of August 17, 1833, like that of September 13, 1813, ordered nothing more than that *the Missions should be surrendered to the Bishop and the property to the neophytes,* which change was most agreeable to the missionaries, but not to the Bishop who declined the surrender. The instructions received by Figueroa directed nothing of the

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16 The paisano chiefs who were fond of parading under that title.

17 They had already driven out Victoria on that same ground, wherefore Figueroa had good reasons to fear the same treatment.

18 Fr. Durán to Fr. Guardian Hidalgo, September 25, 1837. *The Missions,* iv, 109.

19 Hittell, ii, 189.

20 Bancroft, iv, 48.

21 Which had been railroaded through Congress by Gómez Farias for the benefit of the Padrés-Híjar combination of landsharks.

kind, as the reader will know. Fr. Durán for the Fernandinos and Fr. García Diego for the Zacatecans dissuaded Figueroa from taking such action.[22] However, the young would-be statesmen and their henchmen were hungry for positions. So the measure went into effect. How it worked at Mission Dolores we cannot describe in detail because the particulars have not come to us. The interested student will obtain full information in the narrative on Missions San Luis Rey and Santa Barbara, and from *The Missions,* vol. iii, 581-591, about the situation at Mission San Francisco Solano. The results recounted there are typical of the conditions at all the confiscated Missions.

A supplementary decree of the half dozen legislators, which Figueroa had to publish on November 3, 1834, transformed the Missions into curacies, and the missionaries into curates. This was a piece of legislation that did not concern any one but the Bishop in accord with the Supreme Government. Nor would the Franciscans pay any attention to the arrogant order of the conceited legislators. They disavowed the title. With them the missionary establishments remained Missions and they themselves remained missionaries. The conceited legislators also presumed to declare the rank and standing of the respective "curacies." Some were designated first class "curacies" with a salary of $1,500, whilst others, like Mission Dolores, were relegated to the second class with a salary of $1,000, to be paid from the income of the lands worked by the poor neophytes under the tender mercies of an administrator, who would certainly not, like the friars, first, last, and all the time, look after the welfare of the neophytes now transformed into peons, though they were declared free citizens; but who would first and always collect his salary.

When the Mexican Government learned what had happened in California, Congress on November 7, 1835, passed the following decree: "Until the curates mentioned in Article Two of the Law of August 17, 1833, shall have taken possession,

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[22] See *The Missions,* iii, 486-495.

the government (of California) *will suspend the execution of the other Articles,* and *will maintain things in the state in which they were when said law was made.*"[23] This nullified the action of the would-be statesmen of California, removed the hireling *comisionados,* and reinstated the friars. Unfortunately, the Mexican Capital lay too far away, and there was no court of appeals in the land. Figueroa died before the decree arrived. Another governor, Mariano Chico, came and was driven out after three months; and, ere long, November 5, 1836, Nicolas Gutiérrez, a temporary governor, was expelled. The Mexican Government dared not enforce its decrees, and thus the lawless decree of August 9, 1834, prevailed. Juan B. Alvarado assumed the reigns of government, for only a *pa-i-sa-no* was to govern thereafter. As a result of the nativist rule, the all but extinction of the neophyte property and of the neophytes themselves followed.

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[23] *The Missions,* iv, 6.

CHAPTER XXI

Mission Confiscated.—Mayordomos.—Impertinence of the Commissioners.—Fr. Garcia Diego Protests.—Quarrel Between Commissioners.—Church Property Not Respected.—The Inventory.—The Valuation.—Church and Vestry.—Hittell on the Transfer of the Property.—Indians Helpless.—Del Valle's Tirade.—Inspector Hartnell.—What He Learned.—Mofras's Description.—Wealth of the Mission.—The End.

MISSION SAN FRANCISCO was among the first to be confiscated. Without awaiting the approval of the Supreme Government, and only about a month after the publication of the illegal decree of August 9, 1834, a commissioner was appointed to take charge of the property and of the neophytes. The appointee, José Joaquin Estudillo, son of Captain José M. Estudillo, on September 28th informed Governor Figueroa that the Mission had two mayordomos who enjoyed a salary and various privileges. He wished for authority to discharge one of them, because one would be sufficient, and the Mission owed about $8,000. On November 1, 1834, Estudillo reported the debts amounted to $10,089.63. It seems that a teacher also, José Maria Silva, had been employed; for on November 13, 1834, Figueroa directed Comisionado Ignacio del Valle to replace Silva with José Fernandez, a professional teacher, in case Silva should resign.[1]

The confiscation decree allowed the priest in charge to choose the quarters at the Mission which he desired to occupy. The Indians lived very much scattered over the district, even so far down as San Mateo. He had to have a horse or two, and for these there must be a stable. Fr. Gutiérrez, who early in 1834 had succeeded Fr. Quíjas, wanted to turn an old granary into a stable and barn; but Del Valle refused to let him have it. Fr. Gutiérrez, it appears, then appealed to Governor

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[1] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* vol. ix, 588-589; 612; 630.

Figueroa, who wrote on the subject to the arrogant comisionado under date of November 29, 1834. As we read no more about the matter, it may be presumed that Figueroa ordered the official to aid the priest instead of dictating to him.[2] It will be seen that at Mission Dolores the secular ruler, Comisionado del Valle, from the start felt deeply impressed with the importance and dignity of his little brief office, so much so that in comparison priestly dignity shriveled into nothingness. When it is remembered that every structure on the spot was the result of the personal labor of the priests and their neophytes, the discourtesy, not to say impudence, of Del Valle will strike the honest reader as amazing; but the incident is only a sample of the indignities heaped upon the friars and upon their neophyte Indians at all the establishments which they had founded and reared.

Only two months later, the Fr. Comisário Prefecto of the northern Mission, Fr. García Diego, who later became the first Bishop of California, found himself obliged to address Governor Figueroa as follows:

"From the enclosed transcript Your Honor will learn of the excesses Don Joaquin Estudillo and Don Pedro del Castillo have committed. Even if the misdeed is presumed, with which they inculpate the missionary in charge, Fr. José Gutiérrez, the comisionados are not his superiors to reprimand him, and to arrogate to themselves an authority, which in these Missions under my jurisdiction pertains exclusively to me. Against this authority they have offended. If the missionary Father be culpable, they should notify me so that I myself may examine his fault and correct it in accordance with my privileges. I, and I exclusively, have to qualify the gravity of the fault and to proceed according to the laws that govern us. It is clear that said gentlemen do not know, nor have they the obligation to know, when and in which cases a priest is delinquent who refrains from administering the Sacraments, and when and in which circumstances he is not obliged to administer them. The duties of said gentlemen are minutely defined in the *Reglamento Provisional*, and therein it is not said that they must reprove the missionary for his faults and defy the authority of their prelates. The comisionados are parishioners of the missionary Father and his subjects in things spiritual. For the same reason they have

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[2] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ix, 657-658.

to respect his character, and must not reprehend him; for it is not in order that an inferior should reprehend his superior.

"From what has been said, it will be evident to the acute intellect of Your Honor that Don Joaquin Estudillo and Don Pedro del Castillo have insulted, injured, and provoked the missionary Father of San Francisco, and both have usurped my authority by reprimanding one of my subjects in a matter which exclusively pertains to my jurisdiction. Therefore to Your Honor, as governor of the territory, and as protector of the Church, I present myself and ask in justice that said señores be obliged by Your Honor to give to the Father as well as to me the satisfaction due to our character and to the dignity of our ministry.—God keep Your Honor. Santa Clara, February 3, 1835.—Fr. Francisco García Diego, Commissary Prefect."[3]

In his letter to the governor, which bears the scarcely possible date of July 31, 1835, in the Spanish collection,[4] Del Valle accused Fr. Gutiérrez of neglecting to visit the sick and administer the Sacraments to the dying, several of whom had passed away without assistance, and of declining to hear confessions of the sick at noon, telling the parties to return next day after holy Mass, etc. Administrator Flores expostulated with the Father about the last-named case, who told him that he knew the people, Indians, and that there was no necessity to go at once. What the result of this protest was we have been unable to learn; but that the officials thrust on the Mission took little interest in the temporal well-being of their unhappy charges, and must less in their spiritual welfare, may be gathered from another incident related by the enemy of the missionaries, Theodor Hittéll, as follows: "About the beginning of 1835 a quarrel arose between José Joaquin Estudillo and his associate commissioner Pedro del Castillo. As was usual upon such occasions, many facts came to light which might otherwise never have been known. Among other things, it appeared that Castillo had arbitrarily ordered some of the Indian boys to be cruelly flogged. Figueroa, as soon as he heard of it, wrote a letter reprimanding him in the severest language and declaring that neither Castillo nor any other

[3] *Archb. Arch.,* No. 2192.

[4] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* ix, 603-606.

person would be permitted to infringe the laws, which prohibited the flogging of Indians even though they were mere boys."[5]

At length, the inventory of the movable and immovable property of the Mission was taken. This usually happened immediately on "relieving" the missionary of the management. His signature was the last move in the transaction. The commissioner also attached his name, and then delivered the administration to the mayordomo or administrator, in this case Gumesindo Flores, formerly a Mexican captain, who had come to California with the Padrés-Hijar colony the year before. If an inventory was drawn up in September, 1834, when Estudillo took charge, it has not been discovered. The one dated July 28, 1835, was signed by Ignacio del Valle, José Joaquin Estudillo, and Gumesindo Flores. A copy in the Archbishop's Archives among the *Escrituras Sueltas,* signed by Fr. Gutiérrez, covers nine pages.

Now let us see how the commissioners of confiscation went to work, and what they presumed to do with the property of the neophytes and with that of the Church. According to the law of September 13, 1813, the former was to be turned over to the Indians who had produced it, and the latter had to be surrendered to the Bishop as the representative of the Catholic Church. The property of the Church, in accord with the Spanish law, consisted of the church building, the buildings occupied by the clergy and their attendants or servants, the cemetery, the garden, the orchard, and the vineyards. Everything else, lands, live stock, etc., belonged to the neophytes, and were to be managed by Indians chosen from among themselves with the approval of the governor. According to the decree of the legislative assembly, and, after the fashion of the irreligious liberalism which for a century has controlled and rendered unhappy poor Mexico since its break with Spain, everything was declared the property of the State or Nation; and as the legislators constituted themselves the State, it pertained to them

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[5] Hittéll, ii, 210-211.

to dispose of it all as suited their own purposes. Hence the action taken by the commissioners at all the Indian Missions. Not even the sacred vessels of the sanctuary were regarded above having a price placed upon them, something not done in case the property, as should have been done here, was surrendered to the Bishop of the diocese. We shall let an enemy of the missionaries, and of the Catholic Church especially, present the evidence. Alvarado's legal adviser, Theodor Hittéll writes: "When the plan of secularization[6] was issued and commissioners had been appointed to carry it out, one of their first duties was to make out inventories of the properties of their respective missions. These inventories included descriptions of the churches and all the buildings, the church ornaments, images, pictures, vestments, furniture, libraries, musical instruments, bells, and in fine everything connected with the ecclesiastical service.[7] They then passed to what was contained in the missionary's house, the kitchen, the warehouses, the tannery, the carpentershop, the blacksmith shop, the shoemaker shop, the mill, the tile-kiln and so on; then the gardens, orchards, and vineyards; then to the domestic animals of all kinds, whether at the mission or at other points within its jurisdiction, so as to embrace a complete synoptical account of all the property belonging to the establishment. Thus in the inventory of the Mission Dolores, made in July, 1835, by and under the supervision of Ignacio del Valle, as commissioner, every article however small and inconsiderate was noted down

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[6] It was confiscation pure and simple, since the property of the Indians and the property of the Church was taken from the owners and disposed of by the legislators despite the prohibition of the Mexican Government. It was a wholesale and a sacrilegious robbery given a soft name to dupe the ignorant and thoughtless.

[7] So even the property devoted to religion was put under the jurisdiction of the politicians, and to be used only on sufferance! The young California would-be statesmen had learned their lesson well, and were faithfully imitating their Mexican models; for in Mexico Religion is still on sufferance, and God is denied the ownership of the churches dedicated to Him.

and a value put upon it with all the particularity of a merchant's invoice. The itemizing was so minute that in the description of a little launch belonging to the mission, the inventory, after mentioning its sails, oars, anchors, and so on, proceeded to particularize its water-barrel and a wooden slab used for a gang-plank. The footing up of the property of the establishment showed a valuation of a little over sixty-seven thousand dollars, and a debt of some seven thousand."[8]

The summarized inventory of Mission Dolores reads as follows:

Twenty-seven structures and the main building valued at	$22,482.87
House furniture and utensils	319.00
Tools, etc., in the shops, etc	231.87
Goods and produce in the granaries and store rooms	2,214.12
Fenced orchard and 114 fruit trees	334.00
Corral	335.50
Farm implements	34.00
Launch and boat	880.00
Live stock about the Mission	2,700.00
Library	522.00
Church building	8,557.00
Contents of church, vestments, etc., two bells, etc	8,627.50
Cemetery	121.00
Ranchos	
San Mateo with live stock	4,346.75
Parage de la Costa with live stock, etc	12,879.87
Due from various parties	2,542.12
	$67,227.60
Due to various parties	7,222.25
	$60,005.35

Thus, after deducting what was due the Mission, on July 28, 1835, when the establishment came into the hands of secular administrators, the debts amounted to only $5,680.13. The reader will please bear this in mind, because he will ere long observe how much more economically the missionaries managed the temporal affairs of the Indian Mission.

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[8] Hittéll, *California*, ii, 208.

In this inventory the church is described as an adobe structure of one nave, forty-four *varas* (122 feet long) and thirteen *varas* (37 feet) wide. It is roofed with tiles. The ceiling is of boards, the floor of brick, except the sanctuary where the floor is of boards. There are five doors with locks and five windows, of which three are of glass. The other two are covered with canvas. There are two confessionals built into the walls. Each has a door and wooden latchet, and the gratings are of wood. Above the front entrance is a choir loft with a wooden railing. Adjoining the church in the rear is a sacristy fifteen *varas* (42 feet) long and 8½ *varas* (25 feet) wide. Its walls are of adobe, and the roof is of tiles. The ceiling and floor are of boards. It has two doors, three windows of glass, and one window with a grating. There are eight cupboards built into the walls, and all have doors. Adjoining the vestry is another room nine *varas* (26 feet) long and seven *varas* (20 feet) wide. This structure, too, is of adobe and tiled. The floor and ceiling are of boards. It has also a loft of boards. There is one door and one window which is grated.[9]

"It next became the duty of the commissioners to administer the properties which they had thus inventoried," writes the San Francisco lawyer-historian Hittéll. We prefer to have him describe the consequences of the robbery called *secularization* by the perpetrators of the crime, because his statements are a virtual confession of guilt and failure. "Each of the missions was supposed to be converted into an Indian pueblo; that of San Francisco de Asis, for instance, became, and in September, 1835, was recognized by the territorial deputation (legislature) as the 'Pueblo de Dolores'; and to the Indians of each of these so-called pueblos a certain amount of the mission properties was distributed.[10] But it soon became apparent that what was thus appropriated was as good as wasted. Another certain part of the properties was, according to the regulations to be sold and the proceeds applied in various ways. The remainder was to be husbanded in trust for the new establishments, which were to furnish the country with a race of Indian citizens. The theory of the arrangements was, *perhaps,* good

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[9] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Mission,* vi, 689-735.

[10] There is no evidence that any property of Mission Dolores was delivered to the unfortunate neophytes.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROOF OF THE CHURCH AT DOLORES. IRON BEING SCARCE, THE TIMBERS WERE FASTENED WITH FRESH STRIPS OF RAWHIDE

enough in theory, but it was unfortunately entirely impracticable. Not one of the Indian pueblos was or could in the nature of things be a success; and the mission properties, instead of being applied for any length of time for the benefit or the advantage of the Indians, soon began to find their way into the hands of private individuals; and the commissioners and officials in general began to grow rich.

"The *gente de razon* (the *paisanos* here) were all, generally speaking, more or less interested in the administration, such as it was, of the mission properties. If not interested directly, they were interested indirectly. If they derived no personal advantage to themselves, their relatives or friends did. The Indians were an ignorant race incapable of asserting their rights; they therefore had no voice, nor were they provident enough to regard the future of their children.[11] Under these circumstances, the commissioners could act very much as they pleased; and there was no one to complain or raise his voice against their abuses except here and there a missionary, who, however, cried out without avail. Among others a bitter wail of this character was made in August, 1835, by Father José Lorenzo Quíjas, then at San Francisco Solano, against Mariano Vallejo. . . . Father Rafael de Jesus Moreno of San Francisco de Asis,[12] in much the same manner, accused Ignacio del Valle, the commissioner of the mission; but Del Valle answered back and prepared a long list of charges against the missionaries for the manner in which they had enslaved and brutalized the neophytes."[13]

Del Valle's "answer" lies before us.[14] It is dated at Dolores, August 13, 1839, and apparently addressed to Governor

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[11] Why, then, were they not left in the care of the missionaries?

[12] Of Santa Clara, rather; but he was the Superior of the Franciscans.

[13] Hittéll, *California,* ii, 208-210. Brutality and slavery fitted quite well when applied to administrator rule; only insane fury could say as much of missionary control.

[14] Our copy, taken from the original in the *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Missions,* i, 577-586, fills seven pages folio.

Alvarado, who on July 29th had communicated Fr. Moreno's complaint to Del Valle through Mariano Vallejo. All three were birds of a feather. Del Valle had come to California in the company of Echeandia, which explains much. Instead of an answer to Fr. Moreno's charges, Del Valle's letter is merely a tirade after the fashion of Vallejo, who may have assisted in its compilation. It is therefore not worthy of further notice. By that time Fr. Moreno had already passed to his reward—for he died at Mission San José on June 8, 1839. During this period Fr. José Maria Gutiérrez was stationed at Mission Dolores; but not as much as a scrap of paper, outside the Mission Registers, reveals his presence there, or how he contrived to live at the decaying establishment, and with such neighbors as Del Valle.

Gumesindo Flores resigned his office of administrator in December, and was succeeded by José de la Cruz Sanchez. William Hartnell, an English convert, whom Alvarado on January 19, 1839, had appointed Inspector of the Missions, reached Mission Dolores on September 23rd. He found the accounts in a wretched condition. The Indians complained that they had to work hard, yet lacked clothing. They wanted to be set free. They also expressed their fear that the Rancho of San Mateo might be taken from them. At his second visit, May 13, 1840, Hartnell compelled Sanchez to resign, and then appointed Tibúrcio Vásquez administrator. "Only nine or ten men were capable of labor," Hittéll is forced to confess; "all the others were employed by private persons, and many against their will. In other words, they *were held as slaves, and not as voluntary servants.*"[15]

When he first visited San Francisco Mission, Hartnell found eighty neophytes, who were all at San Mateo. The Mission still possessed 758 head of cattle, 967 horses, 1,272 sheep, and 42 mules. Eight months later he reported 320 cattle, 707 horses, 1,300 sheep, and 48 mules. "The debts amounted to $2,615; but the little remnant of cattle could not have been

[15] *California*, ii, 303.

worth much more. If any property was ever divided among the Indians, there are no records to show it," Bancroft relates.[16] Thus, only five years of selfish administrator rule sufficed to annihilate what sixty-five years of laborious missionary efforts and neophyte industry had accumulated in the interest of Religion and for the benefit of converted savages! Truly, a "glorious" achievement for "secularization!"

The French traveler, Eugene Duflot de Mofras, who visited the peninsula in the latter part of 1841, found that, "although this Mission has some good pastures, its lands are generally unfit for cultivation and of small extent, wherefore in that respect its development has been limited. Moreover, the northwest winds render the location disagreeable. The grain is planted on the other side of the bay, about Point San Pablo, where the Rancho de Castro is at present, and where it harvested 2,500 (?) *fanégas* of grain. In 1834 it had more than 400 Indians, and owned 5,000 head of cattle, 600 horses, and 4,000 sheep. *The present occupants have done away will all.* There remain to the Mission scarcely 60 head of cattle, 50 horses, and 200 sheep. Fifty Indians still dwell in hovels about the Mission, where they cultivate small patches of good, wind-sheltered land, between the points of Avisadero and San Quentin, in a locality named Las Cámaras (granaries) del Padre Ramón. The Mission buildings are extensive, but they are falling to pieces. There is no resident missionary here; but the church is served by Fr. Mercado of Santa Clara.

"The presidio lies in ruins, and is completely dismantled. A sub-lieutenant and five soldier-farmers[17] and their families reside at the place. It lies two leagues northwest of the Mission. The land round about consists of sand hills overgrown

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[16] *California,* iii, 715; *The Missions,* iv, 154, 177-178.

[17] Dire need at last compelled the soldiers to support themselves, as they should have done since 1811. The Missions would then have continued to flourish, the neophytes would have remained in happy possession of their property, the whole territory would have been one of the happiest countries of the globe, and the military and civil officials would not have covered themselves with infamy.

with shrubs. The fort is situated at the extreme north of the peninsula. This fort is in such a sad condition that a ship could easily send in launches to land on the beach at its foot, lift off the cannon, and roll them down the cliff unknown to the guards of the presidio."[18]

Mofras's figures for 1834, as in the case of other Missions visited by him, are far from correct. In 1832 Mission Dolores harvested between 600 and 700 *fanégas* of all kinds of grain, and this had been the average for several years. For subsequent years no reports are extant. Nor were there 400 neophytes on the roll, for the list had but 200 names. Other authors went still farther astray. Walter Colton, a Protestant preacher, who after the arrival of the United States troops held the office of alcalde or magistrate at Monterey, 1846-1848, in his *Three Years in California* made the following startling revelation about the wealth of Mission San Francisco: "In 1825 this mission is said to have possessed 76,000 head of cattle, 950 tame horses, 2,000 breeding mares, 84 studs of choice breed, 820 mules, 79,000 sheep, 2,000 hogs, 456 yoke of working oxen, 18,000 bushels of wheat and barley, $35,090 in merchandise, and $25,000 in specie."

Letting alone the cash, a myth, and the merchandise, scarcely more than a myth, we find the official reports that the Mission in 1825 possessed 3,331 head of cattle, 287 horses of all kinds, 22 mules, 4,034 sheep, no hogs whatever, and about 1,500 bushels of wheat and barley. It is a mystery where Colton obtained those preposterous figures; but, since he dedicated his book to "Gen. Mariano Vallejo," the suspicion is well founded that this Muenchhausen of the early days deceived the simple-mineded preacher. "People are apt to tell and believe great stories abount money," writes Bancroft.[19] "Large sums in specie have been reported as existing at the missions, but such statements should be taken with allowance. Where was the money to come from? Most of the transactions with merchants were in exchange of goods."

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[18] Mofras, *Exploration*, i, 424-425.

[19] *Pastoral*, p. 191.

Tibúrcio Vásquez, the last administrator, on March 6, 1842, reported seventy-eight neophytes on the roll who lived scattered over the peninsula. The Mission owned 216 cattle, 698 horses, and 600 sheep; but, says Bancroft,[20] "there was probably no remnant of property besides buildings, though there was a debt which prevented the governor in 1844 from acceding to the petition of citizens that an end be made of the ex-mission. In 1845, however, after a warning[21] to the scattered ex-neophytes to reoccupy the property that was theoretically (?) theirs, an order for its sale was issued, as at other establishments." This order was promulgated by Pio Pico on October 28, 1845, and formally put an end to the Missions.[22] Mission Dolores, however, had already been bled to death. For that reason, doubtless, it was not auctioned off like other Missions, as nothing could be realized from its sale. Long after, it was discovered that a grant of land at Mission Dolores, three leagues square, had been made on February 10, 1846; but the United States Supreme Court, in 1860, declared the deed fraudulent.[23]

"A melancholy picture," Theodore Hittéll, the bitter enemy of the missionaries, confesses, "was presented by a plaint of the old Indians of San Francisco in July, 1843, and what they had to say applied very generally to all the missions. They represented themselves as the remnant, eight in number, of the former large congregation of neophytes, as plunged into the very depths of indigence, nakedness and hunger, without property of any kind for their support, far advanced in age, and worn out with a life-time of labor."[24]

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[20] *California,* iv, 675-676.

[21] "There was first a preliminary farce of a proclamation to the Indians to return and take possession of the missions if they did not want them sold."—H. H. Jackson in her splendid *Glimpses of California,* p. 83.—If the Indians heard of it at all, they probably thought they were wanted to slave on for the administrators, and so stayed away.

[22] For the text of the confiscation order, see *The Missions,* iv, 445-450.

[23] *The Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 508; Dwinelle, *Addenda,* No. clxiii.

[24] *California,* ii, 382.

CHAPTER XXII

Object of the Missionaries.—Character of the Indians.—Method Adopted.—First Steps.—The Girls' Apartment.—Marriages and How Brought About.—The Catechetical Instructions.—The Doctrina.—Fr. Font's Observations.—Obstacles.—Sacrifices Required.—Motives Therefor—A Christian Communism.—Aids to Understand the Doctrines.—Daily Routine.—The Children.—Sundays and Holydays.

WE have now to summarize the results of missionary activity as observed at Mission San Francisco during the seventy years of its existence, 1776-1846. Although from the relations of Vancouver, Langsdorff, and of the Fathers themselves, which were reproduced on previous pages, the intelligent reader will have learned much about the methods employed, we find it expedient, in this and in the next two chapters, to dwell more explicitly on the principles that guided the Franciscans, on the system adopted owing to the character of the Indians, and on the results that followed their endeavors in both the temporal and spiritual order.

It must be remembered that the avowed purpose of the missionaries was to wean the savages from paganism and to gain them for Christianity. They came to California as messengers of Christ. Their message was the Gospel preached by Christ and His Apostles. Like the Apostles, the Franciscans had severed every tie that might interefere with the delivery of their message—relatives, friends, property, worldly prospects, and native country—in order that they might attract souls to Christ. They accordingly paid little or no attention to subjects that could not materially assist in securing and retaining the confidence of the rude people whose salvation they had at heart. Hence these zealous messengers of the Gospel saw no need for urging the acquisition of various branches of human knowledge, which intelligent people now deem indispensable for the well-being of civilized society. In this matter they merely imitated the example of the Divine Master, who could have

given the most lucid and effective instructions on all subjects that agitate the minds of the learned and unlearned. Instead, He insisted on "the one thing necessary," and commissioned His Apostles and their successors to teach just that one thing necessary—to know God and to keep His Commandments.

Nevertheless, when the missionaries reached California and viewed the field of their labors, they soon came to the conclusion that they could not confine themselves to the preaching of the Gospel, nor even begin their missionary efforts by instructing the Indians in their native hovels or camps. Unlike the Apostles of Christ, the Franciscans encountered a race of people devoid of all ideas that transcended the material order, whose aims were on a level with those of brutes, altogether intent upon securing something to eat without exerting themselves, and upon gratifying their animal propensities. Chapters VI and XIII describe the situation clearly enough, so that there is no need for dwelling upon it here. Those California apostles perceived that it was folly to merely reason with a people not guided by reason. The natives practically were brutes that lived in order to eat. Whoever provided them with food would insure a hearing. So the missionaries resolved not only, like St. Paul, to maintain themselves, but to maintain the Indians as well, such as they could induce to join them away from their degrading camps. That implied segregating prospective converts, the first step in the famous mission system which naturally grew out of the plan forced upon the missionaries by the circumstances surrounding them. Nothing new was proposed; for as early as 1519 Right Rev. Juan de Quevedo, a Franciscan, and first Bishop of Darian on the Isthmus Panamá, in a memorial to King Ferdinand, the Catholic, declared "that all the people of the New World whom he had seen, either on the continent or on the islands, appeared to him as a race of men whom it would be impossible to instruct or improve, unless they were collected in villages and kept under continual supervision." If this was true of the incomparably brighter natives of Mexico and the

States south of it, then one may understand how much more necessary such a method was for the dull savages of California.

The regulations, which governed the missionary establishments on the coast, were framed at the Franciscan College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico. They had been tested in the Missions of Texas, and in the Sierra Gorda, Mexico, where Fr. Serra and companions had labored before coming to the coast. Here their method proved so well adapted to the character of the natives that the famous C. F. Lummis declares: "The mission system was the most just, humane, and equitable system ever devised for an aboriginal people."

Curiosity, if nothing else, would attract a number of savages to witness the ceremonies of the planting of the Cross. Gifts of food, clothing, and trinkets, and above all the gentle manner of the missionaries, would move them to lend a hand in clearing the land, preparing the timbers, and constructing the temporary church. Enough to eat and little rewards gained their good will, and induced others to join in erecting the huts for the priests, male servants and guards. By degrees such Indians would conclude that it was better to accept the invitation of the kindly white men to live near them, and have plenty to eat, than to be always hungry for lack of the food which must be sought in the mountains and valleys. They were then in a disposition to listen to what the strange white men would try to convey by means of signs or through Indian interpreters.

It is clear that, if the Fathers had not been able to employ the only language which the savages the world ever understand, the language of gifts, their message and their mission would have resulted in failure; for "it has long since been demonstrated as impossible," Bancroft writes truly, "to reach the heart of a savage through abstract ideas of morality and elevation of character. A religion, in order to find favor in his eyes, must first meet some of his material requirements. If it is good, it will clothe him better and feed him better, for this to him is the chiefest good in life."[1]

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[1] *Native Races*, i, 33.

The catechumens at first raised their huts after their own fashion, a few hundred feet from the chapel. These structures merely consisted of poles covered with dry grass or tules. That was the work of a day. When these flimsy cabins decayed, or became uncomfortable on account of the multitude of fleas and other vermin, it was burnt down and another was erected in its place. In this and in other customs the Fathers would humor their converts so long as they were not sinful. Later on adobe dwellings, one for each family, were built in regular order and roofed with tiles. The walls were white-washed. Here the married portion of the neophytes lived subject to the regulations established.

The girls from about eleven years of age upwards, single women, and the wives whose husbands were absent, passed the night together in a separate building. The doors were locked on the outside, and the respective official or mayordomo would deliver the keys to the missionaries. In the morning the same person would receive the keys, unlock the doors, and allow the inmates to join the community in the exercises of the day. "At Mission San Luis Obispo," which was typical, Fr. Font writes in his *Diario,* "I saw that a married soldier served as mayordomo of the Mission. This gave the Fathers no little relief. The wife of this soldier had charge of the girls, and they accordingly called her mistress. During the day she kept them around her, taught them to sew and to do other work; but at night she locked them up in an apartment where they were secure against insult. For this reason they were called *monjas (nuns).* This arrangement seemed to me a good thing."[2] Indeed, owing to the brutish character of the Californians, this institution was so necessary and reasonable that it is amazing to find writers criticizing it. Nevertheless, such girls when not occupied during the day, were free to visit their parents or relatives in the mission village near by; but they were not permitted to go alone beyond the limits.

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[2] Fr. Pedro Font, *Diário,* January 5th.

The Indian girls remained under this gentle tutelage until they married. Marriage came about in this way. When a young man wanted a wife he would make known his desire to the missionary. The Father would tell him to name his choice. Then the missionary would introduce the youth to the girl. If she agreed, the espousals would take place in regular form before two witnesses, whereupon the day was set for the nuptials. The marriage was invariable blessed in church before the altar, after the usual bans had been published on three successive Sundays or holydays of obligation. The couple was thereupon given one of the adobe dwellings in the village, where they lived subject only to the community regulations. If the girl declined her suitor, which probably happened very seldom, but which she was perfectly free to do, the young man had to wait till he found one that was willing to join him for life.

When the material or bodily wants had been provided, the road to the mind and heart of the Indians was cleared to receive regular instructions on the main object of the missionaries. The Fathers always endeavored to illustrate the points of Religion by means of pictures. Thus explained, a lasting impression was made. Furthermore, they celebrated the Divine Mysteries, especially on festival days, with all the splendor possible, and insisted on the utmost reverence within the sacred walls of the church. The ceremonies were explained during the year in connection with the various feasts as they occurred. Litanies would be recited or sung, and there would be frequent processions. The procession of Corpus Christi impressed the childlike neophytes like nothing else.

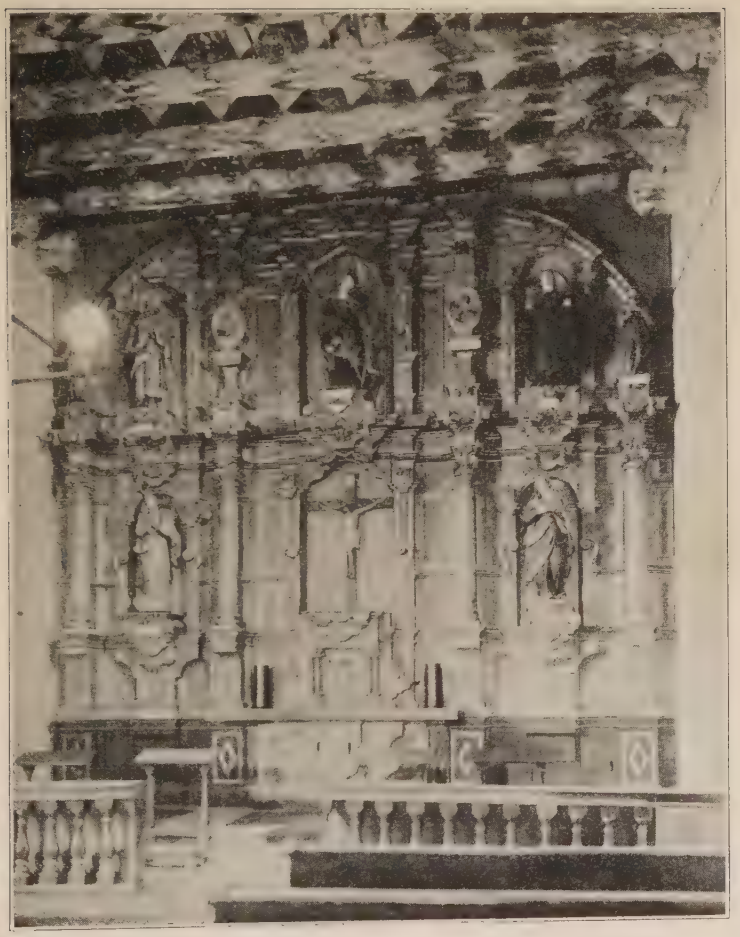
The instruction began with the rudiments of Religion, such as the Sign of the Cross, the pronouncing of the Name of God, and was slowly followed in turn by the various points of Faith and morals. The lessons would be repeated over and over in the simplest language possible; but, alas for the dullness of these natives! many never comprehended anything more than the bare rudiments. This was the case especially with old people, few of whom grasped the truth of the Holy Eucharist.

Those who grew up at the Missions would, however, very well understand the significance of all points of Religion. Everything was learned by heart, not from books but from practice. Step by step the catechumen was led to learn all the points proposed until he or she had mastered them all, that is to say, could repeat them one after another. Every morning at holy Mass, and in the evening again, what he had learned was recited in common. Then another point was added until the whole *Doctrina Cristiana,* the catechism, had been acquired. Even the dullest in this way after years would be able to repeat the *Doctrina* entirely.

This Doctrina, recited in all the Missions of Upper and Lower California twice every day in common, comprised the Sign of the Cross, the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation or Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, the Acts of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Contrition, the Confiteor or General Confession, the Ten Commandments of God, the Six Precepts of the Church, the seven Sacraments, the Six Necessary Points of Faith, the Four Last Things of Man, the Salve Regina, the Seven Corporal and the Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy, the Seven Capital Sins, and the Four Cardinal Virtues.

Hence, far from being ignorant in matters of Faith and morals; far from being "admitted to the benefits of Christians after a few days of unintelligible instruction," as Forbes and other ignorant critics foolishly assert, the neophytes of the Missions could intelligently recite what must be believed and observed, in order to insure the everlasting happiness of heaven, much better than the critics.

It is well to quote here what an eye-witness, Fr. Pedro Font, relates of the catechetical instruction given at the California Missions. "The method observed by the Fathers," he writes, "is to force no one to become a Christian. They admit only such as voluntarily offer themselves. They then instruct those who voluntarily come, teach them how to bless themselves and all the rest that is necessary. If they persevere at the catechism for two or three months with the same determination, and if



THE MAIN ALTAR IN THE CHURCH OF MISSION DOLORES

they have acquired sufficient knowledge, then they are baptized."[3]

It must be noted here, in order to have a clear view of the situation, that joining the Mission and having himself baptized meant more to the savage Indian than appears upon the surface. He made a real sacrifice. He surrendered his freedom which in paganism knew no restraint whatever. Usually he consorted with several women whom he called wives. In paganism he could keep them as long as he liked, and then he could dismiss them. Christianity allowed but one wife, and permitted no severing of the marriage bond. Only death could free either husband or wife. Fr. Palóu relates a singular case of this kind. "We have had occasion to baptize in this Mission (San Francisco) three children born all of them within two months of one another, sons of the same pagan man and of three sisters who were his wives. In addition, he had for wife the mother of the three sisters (so his mother-in-law). God so willed that this Indian should be converted as well as the four wives. The new Christian put them all away except the oldest of the sisters who had been his first wife. The others, who had also been baptized, were married to other converted Indians. With the aid of this example, and owing to constant preaching and explanation, the Indians are beginning to give up their plural wives and to subject themselves to the holy Catholic Faith."[4]

Furthermore, the convert had to withdraw from the degrading allurements of his native village, and to take up his permanent home under the shadow of the Mission Cross. After his Baptism, the Indian was a soldier in the army of Christ, pledged to remain faithful to the baptismal vows ever after. In consequence, he had to give up his beloved idleness. There was work to be performed, and though it was rendered easy enough, five or six hours a day, yet it was work which he had

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[3] Fr. Font, *Diário,* January 5th.

[4] Palóu, *Vida,* cap. xlv, *sub fine.*

loathed and regarded as the duty of the drudges of the tribe, the women.

In return, the Indian was assured of food, clothing, and ample diversion. In the early stage of instruction he, like thoughtless *children,* considered this sufficient compensation. By degrees he learned that there is a higher and nobler good for which a human being should live. He was shown that by joining the Christian community at the Mission he was really entering the service of his Creator and God, the Lord of all, who compensated for sacrifices made on His account with an everlasting, unlimited freedom and happiness. Then the Indian convert would no more serve for the food dispensed plentifully at the Mission, nor for the easy life promised there, but for the sake of this God, who delighted in regarding all the people of every race as His own children, whom, if they served Him faithfully, in His own good time He would gather around Him and keep in His blissful company forever.

In addition, however, the neophytes learned that they were to enjoy the fruits of their labor while they remained true to one another at the Mission. They were informed that all the land they occupied with the herds belonged to themselves; that even to the missionaries nothing more was due of the property accumulated by the industry of the neophytes than the food and the clothing their guides needed; and that eventually, when they were capable of managing it, the property acquired by the community would be turned over to them exclusively, as was done in Mexico in the case of Mission Indians in that country. The priests would after that attend only to their spiritual wants. Hence the Mission community formed a kind of co-operative association, a sort of Christian Communism, of which the missionaries were the unsalaried managers and the neophytes the beneficiaries. Everything that was harvested from the fields, all the live stock, and the products of the mechanical workshops, was kept in the barns, corrals, or the warehouses, for the benefit of the Mission Family. Every man, woman, and child enjoyed it all according to the individual needs. This happy life could have continued indefinitely, for

the welfare of the territory, too, had not the greed, the vices, and the deadly diseases of those who were not Indians ruined it all.

In order to help the dull minds of the Indians to grasp the significance of the respective doctrinal points, and to move the neophytes to practice virtue, the missionaries lined and decorated the walls of the chapels and the corridors with statues or pictures of the Savior, of the Blessed Virgin, the angels, and saints, especially of the Mission's patron saint. To assist them to hate sin, representations of hell, heaven, death, judgment, purgatory, etc., would be placed upon the walls of all the churches. Also the Fourteen Stations of the Cross were found in every church.

The daily routine at all the Missions was as follows: At sunrise the bell called to church all the adults, that is to say over nine years of age; for all these were deemed capable of receiving instruction in common. The boys and girls below nine years had their own instructions apart. Holy Mass was then celebrated by one of the two missionaries, while the other together with the neophytes recited the ordinary prayers and the *Doctrina* mentioned before. All would then take breakfast, blessing thmselves and singing grace beforehand, as Fr. Font remarks. Breakfast consisted of *atole,* which was a gruel made of corn or other grain roasted before it was ground. It was prepared at the *pozolera* or community kitchen, in large iron kettles. Every family sent to this *pozolera* for its share, which was ample and served in bark or earthen vessels. The girls and young men always took their meals in their respective quarters. After this meal, which lasted about three-quarters of an hour, the men and larger boys would proceed to their tasks for the day in the field, in shops, or in care of live stock. The girls and single women found occupation under the supervision of the matron.

At noon the Angelus Bell announced the time for dinner. This was served in the same way as the breakfast, but consisted of *pozole,* a thick soup with meat, beans, lentils, or garbanzos according to the season. Two hours were allowed for dinner

and rest. At two o'clock work was resumed and continued till five o'clock, when the whole population went to church for the recitation of the *Doctrina* and the religious devotions. On these occasions one of the Fathers would add a suitable instruction in Spanish or Indian. The *Alabado* concluded the exercise. At about six o'clock supper was served in the form of *atole* as at breakfast. The remainder of the evening till the Poor Souls' Bell about eight p. m. was passed in various amusements. The Indians were permitted to enjoy themselves as they pleased, even indulging in plays common to savages so long as decency and Christian modesty were not offended.

The children received special attention. "In the morning," say the regulations, "as soon as the grown up people shall have gone their way, and in the afternoon before sunset, the Fathers shall give instructions to the little boys and girls who are five years old or more, and they shall permit none to be absent." These children, in good weather, generally came together in the corridor or in the shade outside, or, when not agreeable, in the *sala* or large reception room. Furthermore, the regulations ordain: "The catechumens, those who are about to be married, and those who are preparing for the annual confession, shall likewise attend these exercises in the morning and in the evening, so that they may be instructed before receiving said holy Sacraments. The same shall be observed in the case of those who, despite the daily exercises, may have forgotten the *Doctrina*.

"Sundays and holydays of obligation," the same rules direct, "the Fathers shall exercise great vigilance lest any one neglect the principal Mass or the sermon which must be preached during the holy Sacrifice. On such occasions they will explain the Gospel or the mysteries of our holy Faith, and they shall endeavor to adapt themselves to the dullness and the needs of the Indians. When holy Mass is concluded, one of the missionaries will call every one by name. The neophytes will approach one after the other to kiss the priest's hand. Thus it will be seen if any one is missing. Those more capable and

intelligent shall be exhorted to frequent the holy Sacraments oftener than once a year, especially on great feasts."

After the divine services on Sundays and holydays in the morning, and after the devotional exercises in the afternoon, the neophytes could divert themselves as they pleased. The singing at the High Mass was of course in Latin. Instead of organ accompaniment, instrumental music was supplied by the Indian musicians. The neophytes composed the choir and sang from square notes written in different colors on parchment to indicate the part which the respective singer had to follow. The afternoon devotion consisted of the Rosary, the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and short prayers in Spanish. The Christmas season was the pride and the joy of the childlike neophytes; for then they might represent the Coming of the Savior, the best of their number impersonating Mary, Joseph, the Shepherds, the Three Kings, etc. Other ecclesiastical seasons were similarly celebrated, and the instructions always adapted to the occasion. Truly a more kindly, pleasant, patriarchal life could hardly be imagined. Inasmuch as the Spanish Calendar contained many holydays besides Sundays, and nothing worried these overgrown children of the Missions, no one was overworked save the heads of the great Mission family, the missionaries, and they were happy when they could make the neophytes happy.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Baptismal Register.—First Entries.—Notable Personages.—Second Book of Baptisms.—Its Introduction.—Numerous Converts.—Method of the Fathers.—An English Convert.—Last Resident Franciscan.—A Yankee Convert.—Bishop Garcia Diego's Auto-de-Visita.—Last Franciscans.—Tabular Report.—Royal Orders.

WHEN, after the period of instruction and probation, the convert received the Sacrament of Baptism, his name was noted in the Baptismal Register, together with the age, date of Baptism, place of birth and the name of the parents and sponsors. If an adult, the name of the wife or husband was also recorded. At the same time the name was entered in the *Padrón,* or book containing the names of the members of the Mission by families. Here the origin, condition and occupation of the neophyte were noted. The Marriage and the Burial Registers were similarly arranged. Every entry was signed by the priest officiating.

The various Registers of Mission San Francisco are still extant and preserved in the vaults of the Archdiocese. Although they are replete with historical information, we must content ourselves with reproducing only the most important items. After the title page reproduced here in facsimile, comes this introduction to the entries: "In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, of the Queen of the Angels Mary Most Holy, Our Lady, and of Our Holy Father Saint Francis, the Patron of this Church and Mission, begins this Book of Baptisms."

To the left of the entries runs a margin, about and inch and a half wide. On this is noted the number of the entry, the Christian name of the recipient with the designation *Español* or *Natural.* At other Missions, generally, the rancheria is noted in parenthesis.

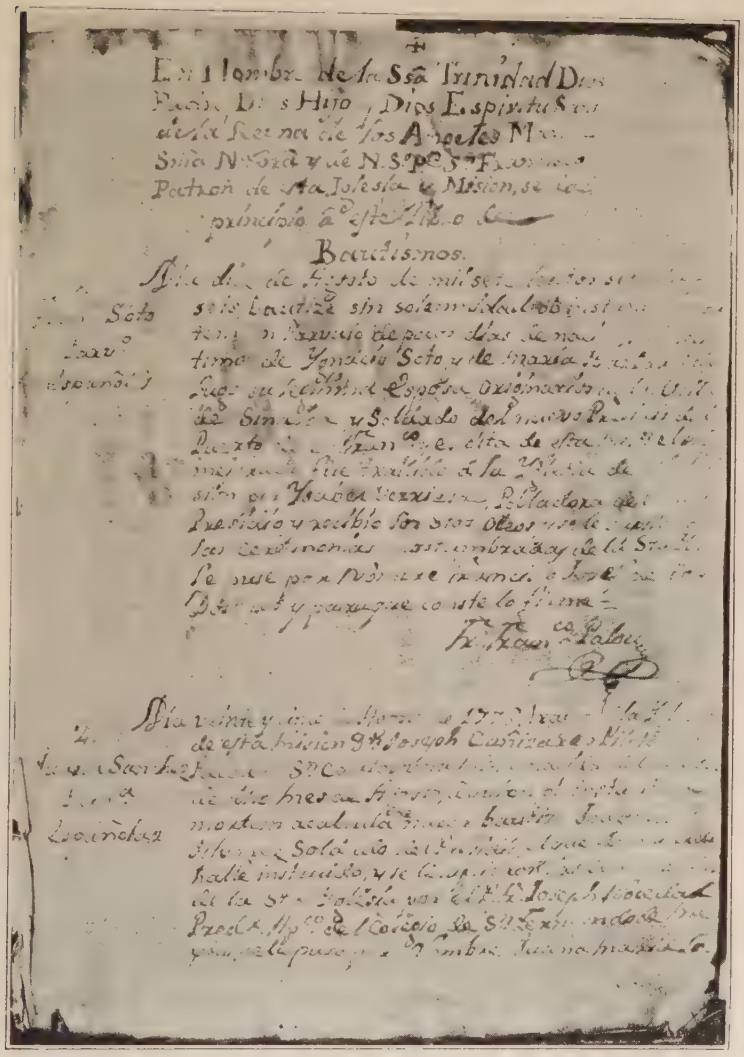
The first entry, on August 10, 1776, records the Baptism by Fr. Francisco Palóu of Francisco Soto, legitimate infant son

of Ignacio Soto and Maria Barbara Lugo, both natives of Sinaloa. The father was one of the guards of the Mission. Isabél Verreiesa of the presidio acted as sponsor. She was reminded of her relationship and obligation, as is always noted. Fr. Pedro Cambon, Fr. Palóu's companion, entered his first Baptism on May 5, 1777, the subject being a child of the presidio family, and number six in the list of baptized.

Fr. Palóu was not in a hurry to admit Indians to full membership in the Christian community, for none was baptized until about one year after his arrival at the Laguna de los Dolores. Then, however, he makes this significant entry: "June 24, 1777, in the church of this Mission of our Holy Father Saint Francis, the beginning was made with the Baptisms of pagans for the greater honor and glory of God." Fr. Palóu then relates that he had baptized *Chamis,* a youth of twenty years from the rancheria of Chulchui (Chuchui), by Spaniards called La Asumpcion. The young Indian was given the name Francsico Moraga in honor of Don José Joaquin Moraga, the commander of the presidio. On the same occasion Fr. Palóu baptized *Pilmo* from the Playa de los Dolores and of the same rancheria with Francisco Moraga. The boy, nine years old, was named José Antonio. Lieutenant Moraga again stood sponsor. On the same occasion another boy, nine years of ago, and called *Taulvo* from the same rancheria, was baptized and named Juan Bernardino. Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva was the sponsor.

On July 9, 1777, Fr. Palóu baptized the sister of the aforesaid Francisco (Moraga). She was eleven years of age, and among the pagans went by the name of *Lilote.* Her godmother was Francisca Xaviera Balanzuela, wife of Gabriel Peralta, the corporal of the guard. The girl was named Maria Francisca, and she was the first female Indian baptized at the Mission.

Fr. Pedro Cambon, on June 29, 1777, baptized his first Indians, Buenaventura, fifteen, and Pedro Pablo, eleven years old. They occupied nos. 10 and 11 in the list. As this was the anniversary of the first holy Mass on the spot, the reader will see how slowly the natives accepted the yoke of Christ.



THE FIRST ENTRY IN THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER

Thereafter conversions were numerous, for at the close of that same year, 1777, the Register contained the names of thirty-five neophytes.

A notable entry is no. 122, made on September 22, 1779, The child was Juan Francisco, son of Hermenegildo Sal, the storekeeper of the presidio, a native of Spain, and of Maria Josepha Amézquita, a native of Sonora. The sponsor was Don Francisco Maurelle, ensign of the ship *La Favorita,* a native of Galicia, Spain.

Folios 21 and 22, containing entries Nos. 123-142 inclusive, September, 1779, to January, 1780, are missing.

On June 22, 1784, Fr. Palóu baptized Luis Antonio, born on June 21, legitimate infant son of Ensign José Argüello and Ignacia Moraga. The comandante of the presidio of San Francisco, José Joaquin Moraga, uncle of the mother, and his wife, Maria del Pilár y Leon, stood sponsors.

On August 4, 1784, Fr. Palóu baptized Maria del Carmen, infant daughter of Governor Pedro Fages and Eulalia Celis, his wife. Captain Nicolas Soler was the godfather. The child held number 391 in the list. During the year 1786 many Indians of the Salsones tribe were admitted and baptized.

On June 15, 1787, Fr. Cambon writes that he had solemnly baptized the Indian child Maria "in the church of the Parage de San Pedro y San Pablo." Thereafter Fr. Cambon frequently mentions that place, as do Fathers Norberto and Solá. A great many Indian converts were made in 1790-1791, especially by Fr. Dantí.

A very notable entry is number 931 of February 26, 1791. On that day Fr. Cambon baptized, at the Mission church, Maria de la Concepcion Marcela, infant daughter of José Argüello, the captain commander of the presidio of San Francisco, a native of Querétaro, and of Maria Ignacia Moraga, his wife, a native of the presidio of Altar, Sonora. The sponsor, by proxy, was Lieutenant José de Zuñiga, commander of the presidio of San Diego. Corporal Manuel Boronda held the child during the ceremony. This Maria Concepcian became

prominent in the history of the presidio, as will be related in Appendix C.

The First Book o f Baptisms closes with number 3895, which was entered on January 20, 1810, by Fr. Juan Sainz de Lucio. By that time 3,699 Indians and 196 who were not Indians had been baptized. The Indian population of the Mission consisted of 580 males and 433 females, or altogether 1,013 souls. The title page of the Second Book reads as follows:

"Viva Jesus, Maria, y José!

"Second Book of Baptisms, which contains the entries of those who are baptized as well of the royal presidio as of the Mission of Our Father Saint Francis, those *de razon* as well as the Indians. It commenced on the 20th of January, 1810, and opens for the first entry of Baptisms of Indians with number 3896, and of those *de gente de razon* with number 197. The present missionaries are the Rev. Fathers Ramon Abella and Juan Sainz de Lucio, the Presidente of all the Missions of Upper California being the Very Rev. Fr. Estévan Tápis. This book consists of ninety-six folios numbered for use."

At the head of the next page is this heading: *Año de* 1810. In the name of the Triune and One God, of the Queen of the Angels, Mary Most Holy, Our Lady, and of Our Seraphic Father Saint Francis, Patron and Titular of this Mission, this Second Book of Baptisms begins.

The first entry records individually the Baptisms of nos. 3896-3905, all adult female Indians. On January 23 followed nos. 3906-3909, all Indian children baptized by Fr. Sainz. On January 27, 1810, nos 3911-3923, male and female adults, ranging between 38-60 years of age, were entered by Fr. Abella. Frequently from the year 1811 down to 1822 similar numbers of converts were entered on the same dates. The years 1811 and 1821 were especially prolific in convert Indians.

On April 13, 1811, Holy Saturday in the afternoon, there were baptized in the church by Fr. Sainz nos, 4233-4249, all Indian boys and men from twelve to thirty-six years of age. On the same afternoon with the same solemnity, Fr. Abella baptized nos. 4250-4272, all Indian girls and women ranging

from twelve to forty years of age. All were from the Omiomi tribe like the men. Other tribes which contributed converts in large numbers were the Suisun, de la Costa, Petalumas, Ululatos, Olompali and Canicaynos.

A name which later on figures conspicuously at Mission Santa Clara was Juan Crisóstomo Galindo. At this period he was corporal of the presidio of San Francisco. On March 23, 1811, Fr. Sainz baptized a child of one day named José Pablo, son of Juan Crisóstomo Galindo and his wife Jacoba Bernál. Again Fr. Luis Gil, on August 23, 1818, baptized Joana Francisca Josefa Maria, infant daughter of the same couple.

When there were large numbers to be baptized, the missionaries usually separated the adults by sexes. One of the Fathers would then baptize the men and the other would administer Baptism to the women, but always in the church, or the same missionary would baptize them all, but on different dates. Every individual, however, was entered by himself or herself, and the whole list was then signed at the end by the officiating priest. It must be remembered throughout that every one over nine years of age had to be instructed in accordance with the regulations. The work involved can be guessed from what has been said in the previous chapter.

Thus Fr. Altimira on June 15, 1821, baptized from the rancheria of the Ululatos the male adults Nos. 5920-5959, ranging from 18 to 49 years of age, thereupon the female Ululatos Indians Nos. 5960-5999, ranging from 18 to 49 years of age. Only one counted but 14 years.

The same missionary on April 2, 1821, had baptized thirty-two Ululatos children, and on April 16, 1821, he baptized 22 more children. Maria Guadalupe, wife of the soldier Juan Miramontes, was the godmother for the little ones. Juan himself stood sponsor for the adults. Similar large numbers applied and were received during the same year from the Canicaynos rancherias.

A most important entry, historically, is the one following which records the Baptism of the founder of Yerba Buena.

The English translation reproduced here entire reads as follows No. 6473 (359 in the list of whites). William Antonio Richardson.—On the 16th day of June, 1823, in the church of this Mission of San Francisco, after he had been instructed and sufficiently examined, I baptized solemnly a white adult, of the English nation and of Protestant Religion, 27 years of age, called William Richardson, native of the City of London, son of the Protestant William Richardson, citizen and native likewise of London, and Anna Camfil (?), native of the town of Rutan in the Province of Kent. I gave him the name William Antonio. The sponsors were Don Ignacio Martinez, Lieutenant of Cavalry and Commander of this Presidio of San Francisco, and his wife Doña Martina Arellano, whom I reminded of their obligations and spiritual relationship. In witness whereof I have signed, Fr. José Altimira."

Down to the arrival of the Zacatecan Father J. M. Mercado, the Baptisms of those who were not Indians had been noted separately. On May 27, 1833, he writes this *Nota* in the Register: "In order to avoid confusion in the number of entries as has been done heretofore, it appears to me expedient to add the last, No. 453, to the anteceding 6536, so that both may form the number 6989, which is the number it ought to be for the next entry."

Fr. José Gutiérrez seems to have been the last resident Franciscan of Mission Dolores. At all events, after July 2, 1839, when he baptized for the last time and recorded No. 7121, no entries were made in the Baptismal Register till March 11, 1840. On that date Fr. Lorenzo Quíjas of San Rafael baptized No. 7122. He and Fr. Mercado of Santa Clara would then visit the Mission at intervals alternately. It was while Fr. Mercado happened to be at the Old Mission, November 16, 1840, for the first time a native of Yerba Buena was presented for Baptism. The subject was Maria Ursula Inéz Placida, born on October 21, 1840, infant daughter of Juan José Rodriguez and his wife Ramona Miramontes. The entry was made under No. 7132.

Maria Rodriguez was not the first child born at Yerba Buena. That honor belongs to Rosalía Domitila, born there on April 15, 1838, as the daughter of Jacob Leese and his wife Rosalía Vallejo. She was taken to Mission San José, where Fr. José Maria González Rúbio baptized her on June 16, 1838, and entered the name in the Baptismal Register of that Mission under no. 7669. The sponsors were José Amésti and Prudentiana Vallejo.

An interesting entry by Fr. Quíjas is produced here entire, because it pictures the kindly relations which existed in the early days all over California between the friars and non-Catholics. Fr. Quijas writes: "No. 7148. On January 17, 1842, I solemnly baptized a man thirty-six years of age, a native of Baltimore in North America, son of Protestant parents deceased, whose name is William Wurese (Vorhis?). For the last nine years, that is to say, since 1833, while he was with me, he wished to be baptized, and, nothwithstanding that I put him off, he was always determined, and entreated me for Baptism till now, when I learned that an accident happened to him, and he lay like one dead all through the night. He told various persons that he feared he should have to die without Baptism. I therefore administered it on this day conditionally, although he assured me that he was not baptized, and that he never belonged to any sect, notwithstanding that his parents were Protestants. I gave him the name William Antonio. He was examined on the chief points of our holy Faith and Religion in which he had received a very thorough instruction. He made the profession of Faith, abjured every sect whatever, and promised to practice the only true Religion, which is the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Religion. His sponsors were Don Vicente Miramontes and wife, Doña Maria Hernandez, whom I reminded of the relationship and obligations. In witness thereof I sign. Fr. José Lorenzo Quijas.

For the last time Fr. Quijas officiated at a Baptism on June 4, 1843. As vice-commissary of the northern Franciscans, however, he viséed the Registers and entered his *auto-de-vista*

on March 19, 1844. This may have been done at Mission Santa Clara, whither the books seem to have been taken for safe-keeping.

In the same year, July 16, Bishop Francisco Garcia Diego's *auto-de-visita,* countersigned by his secretary, Fr. González Rúbio, was entered in the same Register at Mission Santa Clara, as already stated. Fr. Mercado alone attended Mission Dolores occasionally till October, 1844. Thereafter the names of Fr. José Reál, Fr. Miguel Muro and Fr. Gutiérrez appear in the Registers till the end of October, 1845. Fr. Muro then for the last time administered Baptism (it was No. 7200), and Fr. Reál entered it. This terminated Franciscan authority and jurisdiction at Mission San Francisco.

We have here to note by way of explanation that royal decrees demanded minute annual reports from the missionaries on the following subjects: Baptisms, Marriages, Burials and the number Indians living at the respective Missions. To this the ecclesiastical authorities in 1808 added the order for reports on the number of annual Confessions, Communions, Holy Viaticum and Confirmations. These reports on the spiritual activity of the missionaries reduced to tabular form will be found at the close of this chapter. The royal decrees, furthermore, required annual reports on the agriculture and live stock of the Missions under the following heads: Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Pigs, Mules and Horses; lastly on the planting and harvesting of Wheat, Barley, Corn, Beans, Peas, Garbanzos, Lentils and Habas or Horse-Beans. The tables on the reports of these two departments will be found at the close of the next chapter. From them the agriculturist, the friend of live stock, and even the statistician of the Weather Bureau may draw helpful lessons. Those interested in these subjects, however, will have to judge results in connection with the condition of the country, the implements, etc., the ignorance and unwillingness of the Indians, etc., such as the missionaries encountered at their time. A study of our second volume of *The Missions and Missionaries* will be indispensable to arrive at a just conclusion.

No reports were required on the products of orchards, vineyards and gardens, nor on the products of the spinning and weaving rooms, tailorshops, shoeshops, hatteries, saddleries, soap and candle factories, etc.; nor on the amount of wool, tallow and hides secured, used or exported, although enormous quantities of these articles resulted from neophyte industry under the supervision of the missionaries. We herewith subjoin the Table on the Spiritual Results of missionary activity at Mission San Francisco.

Spiritual Results at Mission San Francisco

Year	Baptisms		Marriages		Deaths		Neophytes		Total Number of Neophytes at Mission	Confessions	Communions	Confirmations	Vatican
	White	Indian	White	Indian	White	Indian	Male	Female					
1776	4	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
1777	6	36	6	.....	8	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
1778	6	84	6	3	8	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	73	....
1779	2	138	6	.....	10	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	to 189	....
1780	6	197	8	29	11	21	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
1781	.....	244	8	39	11	40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	to 258	....
1782	5	288	10	47	12	64	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	...
1783	5	366	10	69	15	78	.....	.....	215	.....	.....	.....	....
1784	5	408	12	92	16	102	.....	.....	260	.....	.....	to 404	....
1785	5	447	14	101	18	149	.....	.....	250	.....	.....	.....	....
1786	2	579	16	138	18	175	.....	.....	354	.....	.....	.....	....
1787	3	690	16	174	18	213	.....	.....	426	.....	.....	.....	....
1788	5	724	16	186	19	244	.....	.....	426	.....	.....	.....	....
1789	.....	767	16	199	21	282	.....	.....	429	.....	.....	.....	....
1790	3	904	17	214	21	329	.....	.....	525	.....	.....	to 680	....
1791	3	1029	20	251	22	374	.....	.....	590	.....	.....	.....	...
1792	.....	1162	20	287	22	472	.....	.....	622	.....	.....	.....	....
1793	2	1360	21	351	26	512	.....	.....	711	.....	.....	to 978	....
1794	1	1693	25	448	28	696	.....	.....	913	.....	.....	to 1015	....
1795	1	1861	26	524	28	900	.....	.....	872	.....	.....	to 1417	....
1796	15	1889	28	545	28	999	410	380	790	.....	.....	.....	....
1797	6	1924	29	560	.....	1108	.....	.....	710	.....	.....	.....	....
1798	11	1975	29	589	.....	1201	341	304	645	.....	.....	.....	....
1799	8	2000	.....	604	.....	1295	.....	.....	603	.....	.....	.....	....
1800	4	2117	30	647	30	1339	.....	.....	635	.....	.....	.....	....
1801	7	2336	31	701	34	1408	415	363	778	.....	.....	.....	....
1802	8	2540	.....	760	40	1540	433	381	814	.....	.....	.....	....
1803	3	2878	33	808	41	1695	.....	.....	1051	.....	.....	.....	....
1804	3	3086	36	954	42	1847	569	534	1103	.....	.....	.....	....
1805	165	3292	40	1013	.....	2007	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
1806	170	3390	41	1064	46	2381	503	383	886	.....	.....	.....	....
1807	178	3459	43	1105	58	2509	.....	.....	828	.....	.....	.....	....
1808	187	3651	45	1161	61	2616	514	392	906	200	4	.....	3
1809	195	3882	.....	1224	65	2740	.....	.....	1010	220	6	.....	1
1810	210	4095	46	1287	73	2899	595	462	1057	240	7	.....	3
1811	221	4427	47	1386	82	3073	667	547	1214	250	8	.....	1
1812	227	4632	48	1450	90	3260	672	552	1224	250	6	.....	1
1813	246	4786	52	1521	95	3427	660	545	1205	240	8	.....	1
1814	251	4933	.....	1544	100	3600	661	519	1180	280	6	.....	3
1815	267	5207	.....	1617	102	3916	630	483	1113	280	8	.....	2

Spiritual Results at Mission San Francisco—Continued

Year	Baptisms		Marriages		Deaths		Neophytes		Total Number of Neophytes at Mission	Confessions	Communions	Confirmations	Vatican
	White	Indian	White	Indian	White	Indian	Male	Female					
1816	277	5530		1683	107	4249	622	469	1091	300	10		4
1817	292	5728	53	1762	112	4497	621	439	1060	300	10		5
1818	305	5797	55	1795	113	4656	645	455	1100	250	8		2
1819	317	5844		1818	119	4754	665	498	1163	220	12		4
1820	325	5902	57	1850	121	4816	715	507	1252	237	30		9
1821	339	6372	59	1968	123	4929	1015	786	1801	64	8		
1822	345	6462	62	1988		5079	581	377	958	58	12		
1823	359	6475	68	2003		5118	131	77	208	60			
1824	379	6483	69	2010		5133	172	93	265				
1825	387	6486	70	2014	127	5155	151	87	238	120	15		
1826	397	6496		2018	130	5183	148	84	232	114	12		2
1827	403	6505	71	2024	132	5116	150	91	241	124	15		
1828	416	6515	72	2027	140	5143	158	78	236	84	66		
1829	427	6523	74	2029	142	5155	152	77	229				
1830	434	6528	79	2037	145	5160	153	66	219	64	35		
1831	445	6533		2038	147	5174	143	67	210	80	25		2
1832	448	6536		2043	150	5187	131	73	204				
1833	458	6539	80	2043	152	5328							
1834		7014	84	2047	156	5354							
1835		7043	86	2052	161	5370							
1836		7062	93	2061	165	5383							
1837		7076	96	2066	167	5392							
1838		7110		2071	177	5429							
1839		7121			178	5438			80			to 1437	
1840		7133		2076	181	5443							
1841		7146	98	2081	184	5460			50			to 1470	
1842		7160	99	2083	186	5470							
1843		7168			191	5486							
1844		7183	102	2086	193	5499							
1845		7200			194	5503							
1846		7213	104	2092	196	5511							
1847		7239				5515							
1848		7251											
1849		7262											
1850		7280											

CHAPTER XXIV

The Marriage Register.—First Entries.—Casados y Velados.—The Register of Confirmations.—Fathers Serra and Lasuen.—The Burial Register.—The First Entries.—Transfer of Commander Moraga's Body.—A Faithful Servant.—Epidemic of Smallpox.—A Notable Entry.—Burial of Leidesdorff.—Tabular Reports of Material Results.

THE title page of the *Marriage Register,* drawn up by Fr. Palóu, reads like that of the Baptismal Register, except that *Marriages* is substituted for *Baptisms,* and that the volume is said to contain 191 folios or leaves numbered for use. It is here that Fr. Palóu makes the important remark that the *Mission was established on the same day on which the neighboring presidio of the same name was founded, which day was Thursday, August* 1, 1776. The reason, however, is not apparent. The first holy Mass on the spot was celebrated by Fr. Palóu on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, June 29, which function, together with the raising of the Cross, at all Missions marked the day of founding.

The first entry is explicit in that it takes up the space on the page headed by the Introduction quoted in the Baptismal Register, and nearly half of the next page. It relates that on November 28, 1776, the couple, Mariano Antonio Cordero, a soldier of the presidio of Monterey, and a native of Loreto, Lower California, and Juana Francisca Pinto, daughter of the soldier Pablo Pinto, had appeared and announced their intention to marry; that on examination no impediments were discovered; that the banns were then published on three successive Sundays at holy Mass; that the marriage was contracted in the church before holy Mass on January 7, 1777; that the nuptial blessing was bestowed during that holy Mass, and that the witnesses were Gabriel Peralta, corporal of the guard, José Francisco Sinova, Raymundo Inoxante and others. Fr. Palóu officiated.

Three months later, April 7, 1777, a double wedding celebration took place at holy Mass. After all the regulations had

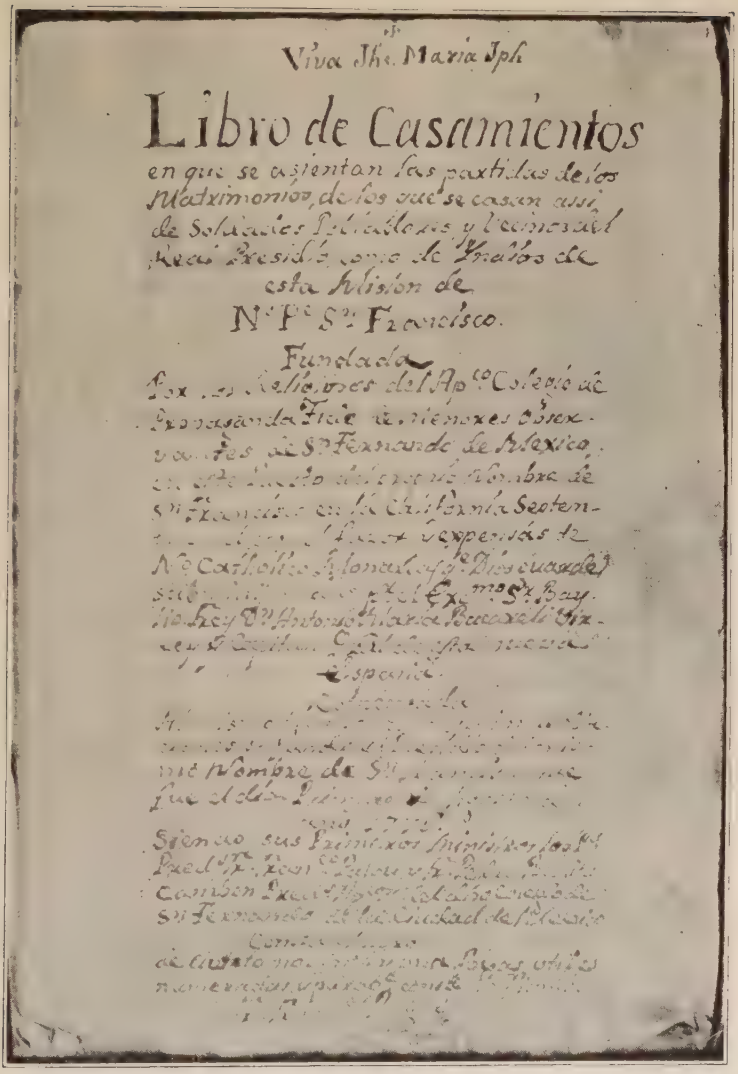
been observed, Juan José Peralta and Ana Berreyesa were joined in holy wedlock, and Nicolas Galindo and Maria Teresa, who had been married outside holy Mass, although in church at Villa Fuerte, and who were therefore *casados,* that is to say validly married, but not yet *velados,* that is to say, the bride had not received the nuptial blessing, which is bestowed during holy Mass only, on this occasion were made *velados,* i. e., the nuptial blessing was received along with the other couple from Fr. Palóu.

The first Indian marriage, after all the regulations had been complied with as in the case of white couples, occurred on April 27, 1778. The groom was the first Indian baptized at the Mission, Francisco Moraga, and the bride was Catarina de Bononia, an Indian maiden. Fr. Palóu officiated. It was number 7 in the list.

A prominent marriage was that of Lieutenant José Joaquin Moraga's son, Gabriel Moraga, who, after obtaining the governor's permit in writing, was married to Ana Maria Bernál, daughter of the soldier Juan Francisco Bernál. The ceremony took place in the church, of course, on August 2, 1784, Fr. Palóu officiating.

On September 13, 1803, Fr. Luis Gil records the marriage of Pedro y Pablo de Cañizares, purser of the ship *Activo,* with Ana Gertrudis Rudesinda Argüello of the neighboring presidio. All the formalities were observed, the banns being published at both the Mission and the presidio. It bears No. 861 in the Register, and was the 33rd white couple entered there.

The marriage of William Richardson is of especial interest to the San Franciscans, as he was the founder of Yerba Buena. He had been baptized on June 16, 1823, as was stated in its place. About two years later we find his name in the Marriage Register of the Mission. The entry is No. 70 in the white list, and reads in English as follows: "Don William Richardson with Maria Antonia. On the 15th day of May, 1825, after they had presented themselves, and had been questioned in the presence of witnesses, and after the Banns had been published, as ordained by the Holy Council (of Trent), and



Viva Jhs. Maria Jph

Libro de Casamientos

en que se asientan las partidas de los Matrimonios, de los que se casan assi de Solteros y Solteras, y Viudos, y Viudas del Presidio como de Indios de esta Mision de

N.P.S.n Francisco.

Fundada

por los Religiosos del Ap.co Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Misioneros Observantes de S.n Fernando de Mexico.

FACSIMILE TITLE PAGE OF THE MARRIAGE REGISTER OF MISSION DOLORES. REDUCED TO ABOUT ONE-FOURTH THE ORIGINAL SIZE

no impediments whatever had been discovered, I married *in facie Ecclesiae* in this Mission of San Francisco Don William Richardson, native of the City of London, to Maria Antonia Martínez. The witnesses of their free and voluntary marriage promises were Don José Sanchez and Don Ignacio Martínez. In testimony whereof I have signed this.—Fr. Thomas Esténaga."

The *Register of Confirmation* seems to have been lost. However, Fr. Serra carried with him a register of his own in which he recorded the names of all confirmed by him at the various Missions together with the date and circumstances. Generally he would also note the day of his arrival and departure. From this book, preserved at the rectory of Monterey, we learn that Fr. Serra arrived at Mission Dolores, for the purpose of giving Confirmation for the first time, on October 15, 1779. He helped to prepare children and adults until Thursday, October 21, when he sang the High Mass, preached a sermon on the Sacrament to be conferred, and immediately after, assisted by Fr. Palóu and Fr. Cambon, confirmed those who were ready. On succeeding days till November 4th, he confirmed the others. In all Fr. Serra on this occasion administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to 101 neophytes of the Mission, children and adults, 48 adults and children from the presidio, and 39 marines of the two ships *La Princesa* and *La Favorita*. Among the marines were included three Indian children from the north. On the next day, November 5th, Fr. Serra set out for Santa Clara.

On his next visit, November 1 to 8, 1781, Fr. Serra confirmed in all 69 Indians and a few whites.

For the last time the venerable Fr. Presidente Serra arrived in order to confirm on May 6, 1784. On Sunday, fourth Sunday after Easter, he sang the High Mass, preached, and confirmed. On the following days till May 13, he confirmed the Indians as they had been made ready, in all on this visit 146 persons.

His successor Fr. Fermín Lasuén, who had also been empowered to administer Confirmation, confirmed 276 Indians

and a few whites on September 19, 1790; on February 18 and succeeding days till April 11, 1793, 247; on August 11-18 of the same year in all 51 persons; on July 9, 1794, in all 37 persons, and for the last time on April 9-12, 1795, as many as 402 persons, nearly all Indians. Thereafter this Sacrament was not again conferred till October 3, 1838, when Fr. Rafael Moreno, Presidente of the Zacatecan Fathers, confirmed twenty persons. Fr. González Rúbio, also empowered to confirm, administered Confirmation to 33 persons on October 5, 1840.

The *Burial Register* is rich in historical details, but it would be tedious matter for the ordinary reader. Hence we shall reproduce only the most important items of information.

The first burial took place on December 21, 1776. On that day the body of Maria de la Luz Muñoz, wife of the soldier José Manuel Valencia, was laid to rest in the presidio church, Fr. Pedro Cambon officiating.

The first burial to occur in the church of the Mission was No. 5 in the Register. On March 4, 1777, Francisca Alvarez, nine years old, daughter of the soldier Joaquin Alvarez, was buried there, after having received the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction. In connection with this burial the phrase "in the church of this Mission" was used for the first time..

The first Indian burial, "in the church of this Mission," took place on October 20, 1777, as Fr. Palóu writes. The body of Pedro, four years old, baptized on August 28, 1777, as the child of pagan parents, was then interred. The little boy had fallen into a copper kettle full of hot water and died. It was the ninth entry in the book.

On November 10, 1780, Fr. Noriega gave burial "in the church of this Mission" to the body of Doña Josefa Carabajal y Machuca, native of the City of Mexico, wife of Don José Joaquin Dávila, "surgeon of these settlements and presidios, and resident of this presidio of San Francisco." She had received the Sacraments of Penance, holy Eucharist, and

Extreme Unction and had died in the night of the preceding day, as the Father puts it.

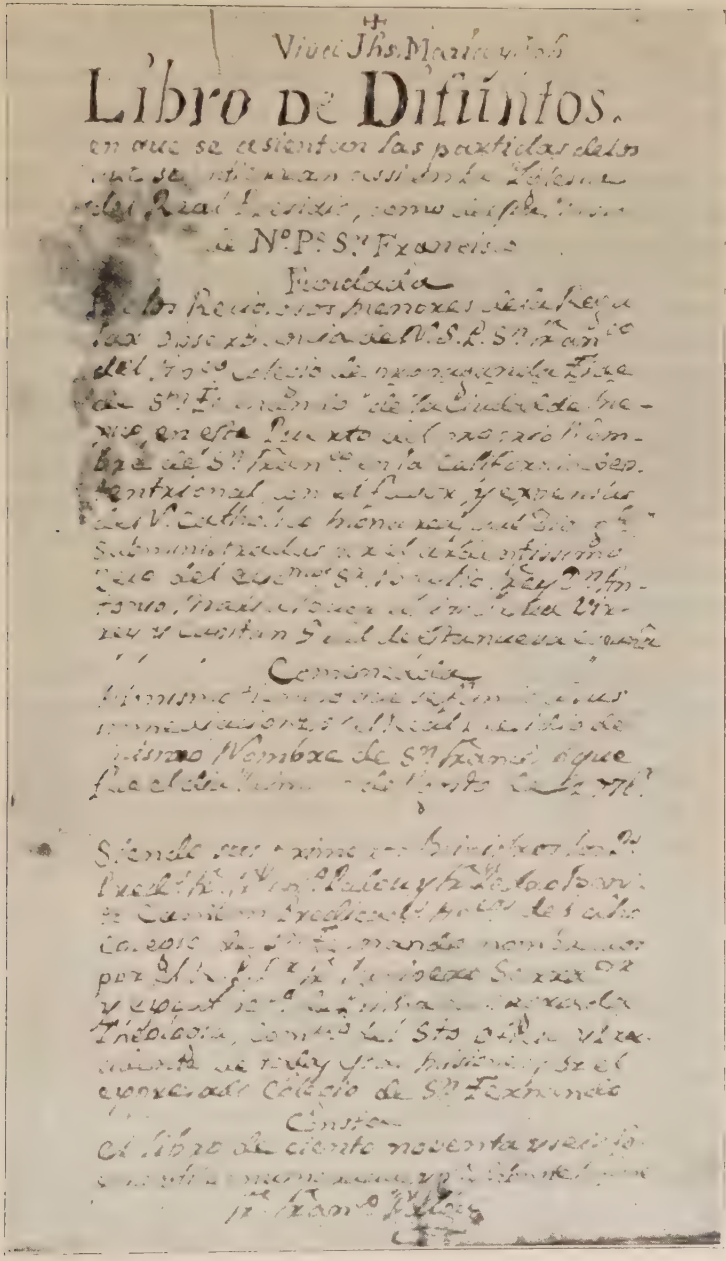
In connection with burial number 46, on October 2, 1781, the phrase "in the cemetery of the church of this Mission" is employed by Fr. Palóu, and thereafter by the other Fathers. This would seem to mean that the cemetery adjoining the church dates from that period.

An entry of some importance is number 138, which states that on June 19, 1785, José Ramón Mariano Herrera was buried within the body of the church for which the foundations had been laid at the Mission. He was a native of Tulancingo, Mexico, and married to Francisca Xaveria, a neophyte of the Mission. He had received all the Sacraments. From this entry it is clear that the church, which Fr. Palóu had begun to build, was not completed during his time.

About one month later, at ten p. m. July 13th, Don José Joaquin Moraga, the commander of the presidio, passed away after receiving all the Sacraments. The body was interred on July 15, 1785, "in the church of this Mission," as Fr. Palóu notes. This means the old church in use, not the one still building, as is clear from a *Nota,* which Fr. Cambon makes in this Register under date of April 8, 1791. On this day he writes: "The remains of the body of Don José Joaquin Moraga, founder and captain commander of the neighboring presidio and of this establishment of our Father Saint Francis, were transferred from the old church to the new one, with the pomp that was possible and becoming to his merits." The entry of Captain Moraga's burial was also Fr. Palóu's last in the Register.

In April, 1804, Fr. Ramon Abella notes in the Burial Register that on January 25th, a canoe with fourteen neophyte men aboard set out from the eastern shore to cross over the bay. A storm arose later on, wherefore Fr. Abella believed all the men, thirteen married and one single, were drowned, although some thought that the men had become the victims of savages from Carquinez Straits. The names are given in the Register.

A sadder entry was No. 2059. "On April 24, 1806," it



Viua Jhs. Maria y Jos

Libro de Difuntos.

en que se asientan las partidas de los
que se mueran asistidos de Viatico
del Real Decreto, como dispone
la Nª Pª S.ª Francisco

Fundada

Con fecha 25 de Septiembre de 1797 años
fue bendecida por el Rmo. Padre Presidente
Fr. Fermin Lasuen, la Iglesia de esta Mision
de S.ª Francisco de la Ciudad de Nueva
York, en este Puerto del Rosario Hombre
de S.ª Juan de la Cultura Occidental
Septentrional en el Reyno y Provincia
del V. Catholico Monarca del Rio de
Submissimo nuestro Rey el Excelentissimo
Señor Don Carlos 4º que Dios guarde muchos
años, Gobernador de esta Nueva California
Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen Presidente

Comenzada

Primeramente hemos de asentar las
primeras diligencias del Libro de
Difuntos de esta Mision de S.ª Francisco que
fue dicha primera en el Puerto de S.ª M.ª

Siendo cura ministro interino Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon
Predicador Apostolico de Nueva España y Presidente de las Misiones
de Californias nombrado por el Rmo. Padre Fr. Joseph Antonio Pan-
oja Lector de Theologia Moral, Comisario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion
de esta Nueva España, y en el convento del Colegio de S.ª Fernando

Concluida

El libro de ciento noventa y siete fojas
en que se anotaron las partidas de difuntos
Fr. Juan Crespi

says, "commenced the epidemic of measles. From it and its consequences on various days died the following, to whom all I administered the holy Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, with the exception of three or four who died suddenly, or without my knowledge that they were ill." Fr. Abella then enters the names of Nos. 2061-2295 buried on different days till June 27, 1806. Of these 46 were male adults and 35 boys, 117 female adults and 38 girls under nine years, or 236 Indian neophytes in two months! This was the first appearance of the disease of which the Indians knew nothing before the advent of whites.

The last entry in the First Book of Burials is dated December 31, 1809, and bears No. 2740. Of these, according to Fr. Ramon Abella, 65 were white people and 2,675 were Indians; 1,149 were male Indians and 1,526 were females, hence 377 more deaths of female than male Indians. From the founding of the Mission 242 more females had been baptized than males. Some of the Indians, however, had been baptized at other Missions.

Deep-seated animosity must have existed among the Indians about Carquinez Strait against the Mission Indians, for during a number of years on various occasions the names of victims of the Suyusuyus were entered in the Burial Registers as late as February, 1810. Cases of drowning also occurred frequently.

A faithful servant passed away and is noted in the Register as follows: "No. 4471. On December 10, 1817, in the cemetery of this Mission, I gave ecclesiatical burial to the body of Diego García, Indian and native of the pueblo of Cadereyto, about twelve leagues distant from Querétaro, who served at this Mission from its foundation. I gave him the holy Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist and Extreme Unction. He died on Saturday towards evening, and I buried him on Monday morning. Signed, Fr. Ramon Abella."

"On March 28, 1830," Fr. Thomas Esténaga notes in entry number 5158, "the body of the captain of this presidio of San Francisco, Don Luis Antonio Argüello was interred in

the cemetery. He had received for his death the holy Sacraments of Penance, holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction."

The following entry speaks for itself. "No. 5403. April 30, 1838. I gave burial to the body of the neophyte Anastasio, whom they killed atrociously at Yerba Buena. Many of those participating in the murder called themselves *de razon*. He received no Sacraments whatever. Signed, Fr. José Maria Gutiérrez."

In May, 1838, according to Bancroft,[1] Don Mariano Vallejo issued a circular to all parts of the country announcing the appearance of the smallpox in the north. He claimed that the Indians were dying from it by the hundreds, and therefore urged the importance of vaccination, cleanliness, temperance and other preventive measures. He thought that 70,000 Indians had fallen victims to the disease, which is a gross exaggeration. No such large number of natives ever lived at one time along the whole coast from San Diego to San Francisco Bay, nor beyond it. In the Missions the mortality was not greater than in other years, except indeed at Mission Dolores, where in 1838 thirty-seven deaths (27 Indians and 10 white persons) are recorded, whereas in the preceding year only seven Indians and two white people had died. In the succeeding year, 1839, only eight Indians and one white person were buried. Among the victims of the smallpox at Dolores was José, a neophyte from Mission San Carlos, who belonged to the choir of that church. He died on November 21, 1838, and the body was interred next day.

An entry which records a case that caused some commotion at the time reads as follows: "No. 5474. On July 5, 1843, I gave ecclesiastical burial in the cemetery of this Mission to the body of the late Don José Sanchez, who died on the 22nd of last June, and remained unburied while the dioccesan authorities were consulted as to whether ecclesiastical burial ought to be accorded him, since he had not complied with the Fifth

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[1] *California*, iv, 73-74.

Precept of the Church.[2] On the 29th of the same month of June it was decided in the affirmative. This document was placed in the archives of Santa Clara. In his last illness he (Sanchez) received no Sacrament whatever, but in the previous attacks of illness, and especially in the one before the last, February of the present year, he had received the Sacraments.[3] In witness whereof I sign. Fr. José Mercado."

The last Franciscan to enter a death in the Burial Register was Fr. José Reál, who signed number 5503 on May 7, 1845.

On May 18, 1848, William Alexander Leidesdorff passed away at San Francisco. He was not only one of the town's prominent business men, writes Bancroft, but a member of the council, treasurer, member of the school committee, vice-consul for the United States, and owner of the first steamer that ever moved about San Francisco Bay. His death at the age of only thirty-eight years was much regretted by the people of the town, *The Annals* tell us. A large number attended the funeral procession. All places of business and entertainment were closed on the occasion, the flags at the barracks and of the vessels in port hung at halfmast during the day, while minute guns were fired as the burial train moved on towards the Mission Dolores, in the churchyard of which the body was interred. Leidesdorff was a native of the Danish West Indies, where his mother and sisters still lived. He had never married. With regard to the ceremonies of the burial we know nothing, for no entries in the Register are recorded in that year. Most probably Father Santillan was visiting one of his many stations, and later blessed the grave, as was done in the case of all who died in his absence. Then the duty of recording the death and buurial was presumably forgotten, since the books were at Santa Clara.

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[2] He had followed Vallejo's example and refused to contribute for the support of the Church.

[3] That entitled him to Christian burial, for he must then have agreed to comply with all his religious duties. The lack of a resident priest, the Mission Books kept at Santa Clara, and ignorant seculars in charge, caused no end of confusion at this period.

We herewith subjoin the interesting Tables on the Material Results of missionary activities at Mission Dolores.

Material Results at Mission San Francisco—Live Stock

Year	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Pigs	Mules	Horses	Total
1783	508	183	104	.....	.....	31	826
1784	614	300	60	.....	16	40	1030
1785	710	482	37	.....	20	123	1372
1786	809	803	65	.....	16	85	1778
1787	1011	896	44	.....	14	101	2066
1788	1410	1221	.....	.....	13	142	2786
1789	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1790	1800	1700	.....	.....	11	190	3701
1791	2030	2010	.....	.....	9	161	4180
1792	2500	2200	.....	.....	10	219	4929
1793	2710	2300	.....	.....	15	277	5302
1794	2800	2600	.....	.....	21	420	5841
1795	1700	3000	.....	.....	25	460	5185
1796	2600	3500	.....	.....	17	640	6757
1797	2000	3600	.....	.....	10	509	5119
1798	2700	4200	.....	.....	11	596	7507
1799	3000	4800	.....	.....	18	650	8468
1800	7180	6238	.....	.....	25	1000	14443
1801	7000	6600	.....	.....	40	840	14480
1802	8260	8000	.....	.....	26	793	17079
1803	9240	10250	.....	.....	30	800	20320
1804	9240	10400	.....	.....	30	1000	20670
1805	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1806	10760	10000	.....	.....	30	1000	21790
1807	11000	10000	.....	.....	38	1020	22050
1808	11000	10000	.....	.....	38	1020	22058
1809	11340	9400	.....	.....	35	1020	21795
1810	11240	10000	.....	.....	30	980	22250
1811	11240	11000	.....	.....	40	900	23180
1812	10740	10000	.....	.....	41	930	21711
1813	9270	10120	.....	.....	42	880	20312
1814	8238	11324	.....	.....	41	870	20473
1815	5780	10500	.....	.....	30	720	17030
1816	5560	9400	.....	.....	30	760	15750
1817	4200	10400	79	63	28	760	15530
1818	4000	10300	8	12	26	764	15110
1819	3500	9000	.....	.....	26	780	12306
1820	3789	10280	.....	.....	26	780	14875
1821	3700	8419	.....	.....	20	800	12939
1822	4049	8830	.....	.....	16	820	13715
1823	2521	9708	.....	.....	10	269	12508
1824	2521	4366	.....	.....	23	269	7879
1825	3221	4034	.....	.....	22	287	7554
1826	3222	4038	.....	.....	20	460	7740
1827	3945	4938	.....	.....	18	470	9371
1828	4332	4023	.....	.....	17	900	9272
1829	4504	3560	.....	.....	18	894	8976
1830	4200	2000	.....	.....	18	914	7132
1831	4200	3000	.....	.....	18	1000	8218
1832	5000	3500	.....	.....	18	1000	9518
1839	758	1272	.....	.....	42	967	3039
1840	3320	1300	.....	.....	48	707	2375
1841	60	200	.....	.....	.....	50	310

Material Results at Mission San Francisco—Agricultural Products

Year	Wheat		Barley		Corn		Beans		Peas, etc.		Total Fanegas		Bush.
	Pl't	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Plant	Harv.	Harv.
1783	....	296	.....	141	.....	151	.....	.....	.....	48	.....	686	1183
1784	....	261	.....	233	.....	123	.....	12	.....	19	.....	648	1080
1785	18	175	17	458	1	55	2	6	2	24	40	718	1197
1786	23	375	22	376	5	370	3	6	2	13	55	1140	1900
1787	20	446	20	325	10	450	4	9	3	54	57	1284	2160
1788	45	462	24	515	9	645	7	30	5	41	90	1693	2822
1789	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
1790	42	538	38	439	7	367	12	38	13	110	112	1492	2487
1791	60	680	34	506	10	200	10	90	3	69	117	1545	2575
1792	94	422	69	544	13	1400	13	178	21	225	210	2769	4615
1793	100	1025	56	737	19	550	13	82	24	212	212	2606	4343
1794	171	1355	62	550	10	500	13	50	31	247	287	2702	4603
1795	182	841	88	546	9	400	7	60	9	13	295	1860	3100
1796	186	2714	114	1129	5	.....	15	46	16	14	336	3903	6505
1797	172	1540	89	113	7	50	8	54	13	159	289	1916	3193
1798	160	1200	10	100	....	....	6	8	7	58	173	1366	2277
1799	180	1800	20	200	2	160	10	150	10	25	222	2335	3892
1800	174	1250	50	500	8	700	12	150	15	189	259	2789	4648
1801	200	1554	114	276	3	200	1	5	16	239	324	2274	3790
1802	223	2322	108	1289	1	20	2	10	19	748	353	4389	7315
1803	201	1457	122	1720	2	60	5	60	18	723	348	4020	6700
1804	229	918	143	826	1	150	2	30	17	550	392	2474	4123
1805	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
1806	177	2600	232	1855	2	150	2	50	12	499	425	5154	8590
1807	188	1375	116	842	2	60	2	30	12	603	320	2910	4850
1808	228	1580	226	1622	2	100	3	50	13	233	472	3585	5975
1809	191	3224	80	1150	2	110	4	60	14	511	291	5055	8425
1810	250	3122	154	1242	2	100	2	60	12	597	420	5121	8542
1811	302	1472	190	763	1	7	2	74	11	521	506	2837	4728
1812	245	3702	210	2406	2	100	2	55	9	396	468	6659	11098
1813	265	3763	187	1727	1	100	2	40	9	484	464	6114	10190
1814	272	3904	191	2106	1	94	2	62	10	548	476	6714	11190
1815	225	3600	150	1502	2	50	3	26	14	402	394	5580	9300
1816	210	2800	180	1500	1	20	3	24	12	500	406	2944	4907
1817	200	2000	190	1300	1	50	3	25	8	405	402	3780	6300
1818	250	2800	180	1600	2	120	4	22	10	263	446	4805	8008
1819	200	1300	140	900	1	....	2	10	10	138	353	2348	3913
1820	193	2000	55	561	4	1000	5	100	13	526	270	4297	7162
1821	200	2600	25	140	4	800	5	100	8	165	242	3805	6342
1822	300	2800	20	386	5	600	5	110	9	223	339	4119	6865
1823	150	1372	10	116	5	200	3	80	8	216	186	1988	3647
1824	....	504	.....	103	.....	45	.....	25	.....	105	81	783	1305
1825	....	800	.....	100	.....	64	.....	71	.....	103	153	1138	1893
1826	100	1000	9	105	3	30	1	16	4	52	117	1203	2005
1827	100	500	44	617	3	25	3	25	7	34	157	1201	2002
1828	80	505	17	230	2	60	2	10	2	32	103	837	1395
1829	40	22	17	191	1	5	2	4	3	17	63	237	395
1830	....	600	.....	250	.....	80	.....	58	.....	53	60	1041	1735
1831	60	670	30	340	1	15	1	9	3	58	95	1092	1820
1832	....	300	.....	250	.....	30	.....	56	.....	45	85	681	1135

N. B.—The numerals denote fanegas. A fanega is equal to 100 lbs.

CHAPTER XXV

A Bishop Proposed for California.—Fr. Garcia Diego Proceeds to Mexico.—He Is Himself Chosen First Bishop of the Californias.—Consecrated at Guadalupe, Mexico.—San Diego the Seat of the Bishop.—The Place Not Suitable.—Goes to Santa Barbara.—His Clergy.—Opens Small Seminary.—Grant of Land for Its Support.—Confirmation Tour.—At Santa Clara.—The Bishop Fails to Visit San Francisco.—The Reason.—Fr. Mercado's Last Report.—The Bishop's Lament.—What He Feared from Vallejo.—Don Mariano's Contemptible Language and Conduct.—Refuses to Contribute to Support of Bishop Diego.—First Resident Secular Priest at Dolores.—Vallejo's Last.

WHILE the Missions under the administrator system were slowly bled to death, a most important change occurred in the ecclesiastical affairs of California, and it was chiefly due to the efforts of the venerable Presidente of the Missions, Fr. Narciso Durán. As early as September 23, 1830, in obedience to a request from President Bustamante of Mexico for a report on the general conditions of the territory, Fr. Durán took occasion to remark: "I think it is time to petition for the erection of this territory into a diocese, and for the appointment of a Bishop to govern it."[1] Three years later, October 3, 1833, Fr. Durán again broached the subject in a lengthy letter to Governor Figueroa.[2] Finally, at a conference which took place at Santa Barbara on May 27, 1835, between Fr. Durán, then commissary prefect of the Franciscans in the south, and Fr. García Diego, commissary prefect of the Zacatecan Franciscans in the north, the former convinced the latter of the necessity of a Bishop as the only means for ameliorating the sad state of things ecclesiastical in California. It seems that Fr. Durán on this occasion also urged Fr. García Diego to proceed to Mexico in order to propose to the Supreme Government the

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[1] *Santa Barbara Archives; The Missions,* vol. iii, 263, 343-344.

[2] *Cal. Arch., St. Pap., Mis. & Col.,* vol. ii, 201-206; *The Missions,* vol. iii, 494-495.

F. Franco. Obispo
De Californias.

creation of a diocese and the appointment of a Bishop. At all events Fr. Garcia Diego made the necessary preparations, named Fr. Rafael Moreno his vice-commissary, and on November 17, 1835, embarked at Monterey for San Blas, the Mexican seaport.[3]

Fr. Garcia reached the Capital in June, 1836, and immediately prepared two memorials for the General Government. One bore date of June 26, the other was dated June 27. "We presented ourselves to the Supreme Government," he wrote to California,[4] "we spoke in your behalf with the most lively interest; we energetically exposed the multitude of your necessities, and we proposed the means which to us seemed the most expedient. The precious result was the Law for the Erection of a Diocese in the Two Californias, passed on September 19, 1836." The Mexican Government thereupon referred the election of a Bishop to the metropolitan chapter of the Archdiocese of Mexico. This body waited nearly three years before taking decisive action. On June 22, 1839, it finally proposed to the Mexican President the names of three candidates for the new diocese: Fr. Francisco Garcia Diego y Moreno, O. F. M., Fr. José Maria Guzmán, O. F. M., of the College of Guadalupe, and Fr. Soriano, ex-provincial of the Order of Our Lady of Ransom or Merced. President Bustamante, on the same June 22, 1839, selected the first-named on the list, Fr. Garcia Diego, and instructed the Mexican Ambassador at Rome, T. M. Montoya, to petition His Holiness, Gregory XVI. to erect Lower and Upper California into a diocese, and to appoint Fr. Garcia Diego its first Bishop. Montoya presented his petition to the Pope on April 6, 1840, Pope Gregory XVI. acceded to the request of the Mexican President, established the Diocese of Both Californias, and designated San Diego as the episcopal city of the new diocese. On the same date the Pope named Fr. Garcia Diego first

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[3] *The Missions,* iii, 578, 605-606.

[4] *Pastoral* of Bishop Garcia Diego, October 28, 1840. *S. B. Arch.*

Bishop.[5] The Bulls were transmitted to the President of Mexico, who early in September, 1840, delivered them to the Bishop-Elect. On September 19th, Fr. Garcia took the constitutional oath before the President of the Republic. Finally, on the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, October 4, 1840, the former Franciscan Comisário Prefecto of northern California was consecrated Bishop in the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the national shrine near the City of Mexico. He reached San Diego and landed on December 11, 1841, but ere long concluded that the wretched little town of one hundred and fifty inhabitants was unsuitable for the headquarters of a vast diocese. When, therefore, the citizens of Santa Barbara petitioned him to reside at their city, the Bishop took up his residence at the spacious Mission of Santa Barbara and made its church his pro-cathedral.[6]

The clergy of the new diocese consisted of seventeen Franciscans in Upper California and four Dominicans besides one priest of the Order of Merced in Lower California, for the Bishop's jurisdiction extended from Cape San Lucas to the northern boundary of California. He had been able to secure only two additional Franciscans, but no secular priests. With a few students who had come along he started a temporary seminary at the Old Mission, but on May 4, 1844, the Bishop formally established his seminary at Mission Santa Inéz. For its support Governor Manuel Micheltorena made a grant of eight leagues of land. In addition he promised an annual cash contribution of $500.[7]

On May 5, 1844, Bishop Garcia Diego, accompanied by his secretary, Fr. José Maria Gonzalez Rúbio, set out from Santa Inéz to visit the northern part of California for the purpose of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, and ascertaining the needs and prospects of the Church in the region formerly under his jurisdiction as commissary prefect. At Santa Clara,

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[5] For all documents in the case see *The Missions,* iv, 186-203.

[6] *The Missions,* iv, 224-236.

[7] *The Missions,* iv, 237-238, 261-262.

where he had been stationed as missionary from February, 1833, to November, 1835, the Bishop confirmed on June 30. On July 6, he examined and signed the Registers, and then proceeded to visit Mission San José, which had been the scene of his secretary, Fr. González Rúbio, from April, 1833, to March, 1842. There he viséed the Registers on July 11th, and on July 12-13th he confirmed eighty-one Indian adults and children. On the way back to Santa Clara, the Bishop visited the church of the town of San José, and on July 13 confirmed one hundred and eighty of its inhabitants. At Santa Clara his Lordship confirmed on July 14 and 16, whereupon he began the return journey to Santa Barbara, for we find him at San Luis Obispo on July 28.

From all this it is clear that Bishop Garcia Diego paid no visit to Mission Dolores, although, misled by the Bishop's *Auto-de-Visita* in the Mission Registers of San Francisco, we so stated in our *Missions and Missionaries,* vol. iv, 266. Mission Dolores had no resident missionary at the time, but was attended at irregular intervals from Santa Clara. There is no evidence on record that Bishop Garcia Diego ever officially visited San Francisco even in his capacity as commissary prefect. Fr. Gonzalez Rúbio once went to make the visitation of Mission Dolores as Presidente of the Missions, and left his *Auto-de-Visita* in the Mission Registers on October 5, 1840, but even then the place was attended from Santa Clara. It seems the Registers of Mission Dolores were kept at Santa Clara, or they were brought to Santa Clara for the Bishop's inspection, on which occasion, July 16, 1844, His Lordship entered his *Auto-de-Visita.*

How insignificant in both spiritual and temporal ways Mission Dolores had become after only five years of administrator rule, may be inferred from the official report of December 31, 1840. "At the present time," writes Fr. Mercado, "the whole number of neophytes is very small, and even of these many are absent and others are incapacitated by chronic infirmities. One hundred and thirty-nine white males and 105 white females together with 77 Indians constitute this parish of San Francisco.

In this number are included 36 soldiers and their families who live at the presidio of the same name. Of the foreigners living in the little town of Yerba Buena no one is included. Divine service for want of a resident priest is not held regularly. The priest comes here only when some necessity makes it imperative, or in order to offer up holy Mass on a holy day that occurs during the week. The sacred vessels and vestments are kept in the condition in which I received them, that is to say, some are lacerated, some are not very badly used, and there is a good chasuble with dalmaties. There are also fancy antependia. There is a new velvet chasuble of bright red color. The albs and other linen, though few, are in a good condition. The cenotaph (monumento) will probably go to pieces, because the frame work is very much worm-eaten. There is no hope of replacing it, as there is no Indian carpenter and no money to cover the expense."[8] What the state of the Mission was four years later, when Bishop Garcia Diego arrived at Santa Clara, may be gathered from the preceding chapter.

Nevertheless, neither the poverty of the once flourishing Mission San Francisco, nor the hardships involved to reach it, would have deterred the ailing prelate from visiting the place. Nor would His Lordship have failed to cross the bay in order to ascertain the situation at the Missions of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano. The Bishop himself gives the reason for staying away from the district in absolute control of Mariano Vallejo. Writing to Governor Pio Pico just one year later, July 4, 1845, His Lordship laments:

"Four years have passed by since I began to govern this diocese. During that time, Oh! what has my heart suffered! No! no! One letter, however lengthy, is not sufficient to describe in detail the causes of my grief. San Solano, San Rafael, San Francisco, San Antonio, San Juan Capistrano, etc., are without priests! How can a pastor see his children, his beloved sheep, dying without confession, without the last indispensable succors? How must it not penetrate my vitals, and pierce my soul, to contemplate the many who die without Baptism, or the long time that may elapse before the children can be brought

[8] *Santa Barbara Archives.*

to where a priest lives, or before the priest can reach the abandoned places?

"Could I rest easy when I behold the multitude of unhappy Indians, who, on account of the ruin of the Missions, have given up attending religious instruction, holy Mass, receiving the Sacraments, and practicing every act of Religion; and who, having joined the savages, already live as they do, or even in a worse manner; and who, demoralized as they were, have given themselves to robberies, drunkenness, murder, and every kind of licentiousness? Could I remain indifferent while I think of these multitudes who die in this wretched state? Whose heart can behold such a number of gentiles as surround us, but whose felicity I cannot promote for want of the means that were on hand during the former periods? Could I sleep tranquilly, when I know that I cannot even make my pastoral visits in all parts of California, because *neither in San Francisco nor at San Solano would they offer me the hospitality*, which I should have received if priests were there as formerly? *No, there will be a missile to pierce me.*"[9]

The author, at Monterey, was told of a tradition to the effect that, when Bishop Garcia Diego arrived at Monterey for the canonical visitation, some individual in the dark discharged a pistol or musket at him, happily without hitting the object of his hatred. Doubtless, it is to this attempt on his life that His Lordship allludes at the end of the preceding paragraph. One is at a loss to find a motive for the unbelievable wickedness of such an act, until one reads how Mariano Vallejo expressed himself to Henry Virmond, a prominent merchant in Mexico, whose trade extended to California.

"The coming of the Bishop is going to cause some headache," Vallejo wrote. "The priests, who are expecting him, are already filled with pride, and, relying upon said chief of the Church, they are beginning to fulminate sentences. Poor men! They believe firmly that here the Bishop can consign any one to the stocks and launch an excommunication against the leading men of the country. I have reference to those in office (Vallejo of course) who will not kneel down in the road to receive a blessing. However, we shall see and know the robes and the ceremonial of such Bishop, for here, the theological officials are not clearly known."[10]

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[9] *The Missions*, iv, 398-399.

[10] *Vallejo, Documentos*, viii, 335. Bancroft Collection. *The Missions*, iv, 225.

The intelligent reader will wonder how a reputed Catholic could in his senses give utterance to such incredible nonsense and malice, and he would be inclined to judge that this tirade was written by a lunatic or under the influence of strong liquor. Neither inference would be correct. Under the influence of infidel French works, and of the infidel guide Prudhomme, Vallejo habitually spoke and wrote of the most worthy eccleciastics in that contemptuous and ill-mannered tone. For another specimen, let the reader turn back to Chapter XX, and see how the unscrupulous Don Guadalupe wrote of the unselfish missionaries; how without a shred of truth he dares to style them tyrants, in whose clutches the Indians were but slaves, etc. Then let him ponder the effects of such wild language upon an ignorant and shiftless Mexican, for instance. The history of Mexico is in evidence how the rabble has been repeatedly incited to deeds of violence against priests and religious by demagogues, who employed just such language and tactics as Vallejo used against the Bishop and the missionaries.

The conceited military commander of the north, who hardly ever commanded more than one hundred men, went even further. To insult and calumny he added injury, in that he refused to contribute anything to the support of the Church or her Bishop and ministers, and thus caused actual distress to the Prelate, because the example of the influential Don Guadalupe induced many others not to comply with their duties. When, for instance, Fr. Mercado, who lived alone at Santa Clara Mission, but had charge also of Dolores, San Rafael and San Francisco Solano, gently reminded Vallejo that, as a member of the Church, he like other Catholics ought to show himself grateful for the spiritual benefits he was enjoying; that, being a leader in society, he ought by his example to guide other men rather than to mislead them and thus cause them irreparable damage; that membership in the Church implied the obligation of contributing for her needs, and that he could not exempt himself from doing his share; the pompous "general" pretended to feel highly insulted. Though Fr. Mercado was the lawful pastor of the district which included Val-

lejo's headquarters, Sonoma, the "general" demanded to know by what right Fr. Mercado addressed him on that subject. After the fashion of chronic malcontents, he then let out a volley of angry words which he intended should justify his refusal and manly attitude.[11]

Of course, Fr. Mercado declined to argue further, but reported his ill success to the Bishop. It was about a year after this episode that the Bishop appeared at Santa Clara. As no invitation came from the military commander, and aware of the insulting manner in which Vallejo at Santa Barbara had treated the Fr. Comisario Prefecto Narciso Duran,[12]

BISHOP GARCIA DIEGO'S SEAL

and even the Indian Inspector William Hartnell, Bishop Garcia Diego concluded not to expose his episcopal dignity to the ill-mannered bully of Sonoma, lest he occasion a scene that would deeply scandalize the Indian neophytes. At any rate, from

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[11] Fr. Mercado to Vallejo, March 18, 1843; Vallejo to Fr. Mercado, March 19,1843. See Vallejo, *Documentos,* xi, 347-350; *Historia,* iv, 70-77. Bancroft Collection. *The Missions,* iv, 248-249.

[12] *The Missions,* iv, 773-775. Vallejo's title was Comandante Militar del Norte. Mexico recognized him as captain in the army. Later the home government made him colonel of the Second Regiment, which was hardly more than a myth. He was not honored with the rank of general before the American occupation in 1846.

the way Vallejo mistreated Inspector Hartnell and Fr. Duran, it was clear that the "general" was capable of anything that might secure for himself more notoriety for independence of thought, contempt of priestly domination and fearless resistance to episcopal arrogance, for the "general" was known to be exceedingly brave and loud-mouthed in the face of poorly armed savages, timid civilians, inoffensive ecclesiastics, and especially toward a mild and gentle Bishop.[13]

What he experienced on this Confirmation tour thoroughly disheartened Bishop Diego. Even before setting out on this laborious journey, the grand projects announced in his first Pastoral had received a death blow when in October, 1842, President Santa Anna confiscated the Pious Fund Estates for the benefit of the National Treasury. The Bishop had been promised an annual allowance of $6,000 from this very source. This unexpected and unlawful action of the Mexican President compelled the poor Bishop and his seminarians to subsist upon what might be collected from an indifferent population, the wealthy portion of which would contribute but unwillingly or, like Don Guadalupe Vallejo, not at all. Returning to Santa Barbara Bishop Diego lingered in poor health nearly two years longer, and then passed away at the Old Mission on April 30, 1846. Three months previously, however, the Bishop provided the long orphaned Mission San Francisco and the surrounding district with a pastor in the person of Rev. Prudencio Santillan, whom he had ordained priest on January 1, 1846. Father Santillan was also to attend the Missions of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano. He accordingly was the first secular

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[13] Hartnell, by order of Gov. Alvarado, arrived at Yerba Buena in May, 1840, for the purpose of inspecting Mission San Rafael. Vallejo would not permit any interference there, and so with soldiers he took Hartnell prisoner and carried him across the bay to San Rafael. Nor would he release him until the inspector had agreed with Vallejo on the action to be taken. Being an easy-going man, not disposed to quarrel, Bancroft remarks, as Don Mariano well knew, Hartnell yielded. Likewise Don Mariano was aware that he had nothing to fear from Alvarado.—*The Missions,* iv, 178-179.

priest in charge of Mission Dolores. Baptisms at this period occurred rarely. About fifteen might be the annual average. Hence it is that, although appointed in February, Father Santillan's first entry in the Baptismal Register bears the date of May 16, 1846.

As for the blustering and conceited Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, retribution overtook him as it did all the Mission despoilers. In the last years of his life he would have been content to possess but the little which he had refused to Bishop García Diego and his clergy. It might be supposed that with age Mariano Vallejo would have acquired some degree of truthfulness if not of wisdom. Such is not the case. At the Centennial Celebration of the Founding of Mission Dolores, October, 1876, in his long Spanish address, at the age of sixty-six years, among other falsehoods, Vallejo asserted: "When the old missionaries saw that the political tornado was about to burst upon the Mission system, they commenced to convert into money all their movable property, such as cattle and stock. . . . The pecuniary wealth of the Missions in their primitive days was sent out of the country to Spain, Mexico or Italy. This I know, and presume, and even believe, that all of it arrived safely at its place of destination."[14] The former statement has been refuted in this and previous volumes. The latter, too, must not go uncontradicted lest unsophisticated writers, who are not aware that with historians, even Bancroft, Mariano Vallejo's assertions have no value unless corroborated by reputable authority, might repeat the charge in good faith.

According to their Rule, the Franciscan Friars could not acquire any pecuniary or other property for themselves, their College, their relatives, or their Order. They could dispose of nothing except for their neophytes. Whatever they earned or received in the shape of stipends, donations, or in any other way, was used for the benefit of their neophytes. Hence the ridiculous anti-climax of the blatant Vallejo is nothing but a

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[14] *Our Centennial Memoir*, page 120. Compare Fr. Lasuén's statement near the beginning of chapter xvii, this volume.

calumny. Had we the chance, we should ask him: "Señor, can you name a single Friar of the California Missions who sent out of the country as much as a *peso* to Spain, Mexico or Italy? Can you name a single recipient of such money?" The Señor would be unable to comply. "Well, I presume it." "You would just presume it, and then state it as a fact?!! Is that honorable? Have you ever heard of the Eighth Commandment?" Thus cornered the doughty Vallejo would exclaim: "Well, I even believe it." "To believe is to accept a statement on the authority of another. On what authority do you base your belief?" He could never have proved his charge.

CHAPTER XXVI

Paisano Usurpation.—Illegal Action of the Assembly.—Repudiated by the Missionaries and the Bishop.—First Secular Priest.—Obstacles.—Yerba Buena.—Its Beginnings.—Richardson and Leese Founders and First Settlers.—Stars and Stripes Raised.—First Magistrate.—Mormon Immigrants.—First Newspaper.—Yerba Buena Changed to San Francisco.—Vallejo Disappointed.—First School.—First Non-Catholic Services.—Leidesdorff's Offer.—Inhabitants in 1842 and 1847.—Discovery of Gold.—Effects.—Governor Mason's Description.—Newspapers Suspended.—Situation Later.—Population at Close of 1849.

WHEN, in February, 1846, the Rev. José Prudencio Santillan took charge of Mission Dolores, he came with the title of *Ministro de las Misiones de San Francisco de Asís, San Rafael, y San Francisco Solano*.[1] This requires some explanation. The illegal decree of confiscation, which the assembly of young Californians had compelled Governor Figueroa to publish on August 9 and November 17, 1834, divided the Missions into curacies of the first and second class. The priest in charge of a curacy or parish of the first class was to receive a salary of $1,500 from the income of the curacy so-called. The curate of a parish of the second class was assigned a salary of $1,000 from the same source. San Francisco or Dolores, with the presidio, was declared to constitute a curacy of the second class.[2] The conceited half dozen legislators not only acted without authority from the Supreme Government of Mexico, nay, in direct opposition to it, and on this question usurped also episcopal authority which alone in conjunction with the Mexican Government could organize parishes or curacies and appoint curates or pastors strictly so termed. The Franciscan Superiors at once forbade their subjects in California to use the title curates or pastors for themselves, and the terms curacies

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[1] *Libro de Gobierno* of Bishop Garcia Diego.

[2] *The Missions and Missionaries,* iii, 530-531.

JACOB PRIMER LEESE

or parishes for their charges. With them the Missions remained Missions, and they themselves remained missionaries. Hence we find Fr. Comisário Prefecto Narciso Durán, under date of February 19, 1836, writing to the temporary governor, Nicolas Gutiérrez: "I shall not expatiate on the terms *parishes* and *parish priests,* which are applied to the churches of these Missions and to the Fathers who minister to them; for in due time protest has been made to the government against those names, because one as well as the other continues in the same canonical sense as ever, since for the election of a parish priest and the erection of a parish the civil authority is not sufficient; the authority of the Church as the sole and exclusive fountain of all spiritual jurisdiction must concur as the principal and canonical party."[3]

Hence Bishop García Diego, too, although the Franciscans had withdrawn from Mission Dolores, and had surrendered it to his Lordship, simply ignored the assumption of the Mission despoilers, officially continued the title of *Mission* San Francisco, and gave the newly appointed pastor the title which the Franciscans employed when they had to express their status officially, *ministro* or priest in charge.

Father Santillan had also been appointed administrator of the tithes in his district, but, as Mariano Vallejo had flatly refused to contribute to the support of the Bishop, and his influence swayed the people in this northern region, the young pastor, barely twenty-four years of age, must have encountered discouraging difficulties to secure anything in behalf of the poor prelate. For himself Father Santillan had to depend upon the good will of the people. The Mission despoilers had indeed assigned a salary of $1,000 to the "curate" of the "parish" of Dolores, but, as they had already bled the Mission to death, even the hired administrator found it hard to squeeze anything out of the remnant Indians. Furthermore his flock was scattered over such a wide territory, that Father Santillan could do little more than hold divine service in the various stations and

[3] *The Missions and Missionaries,* iv, 43.

administer the Sacraments required. Notwithstanding his youth and the dangers that surrounded him, it appears that even the indifferent *paisanos* found nothing disparaging to tell Bancroft's agents about the young Mexican pastor of Dolores, which speaks a great deal in his favor. However, we have to leave Father Santillan for the present in order to take up another subject intimately connected with the Mission of San Francisco, namely, the cradle of the *City* of San Francisco.

The landing place in front of the presidio had proved unsafe at an early date. When, therefore, the Spanish engineer, Alberto de Córdoba, arrived in California to inspect the coast defences, Governor Borica on April 4, 1797, directed him to construct another battery at the more suitable place of Yerba Buena. This was at the cove between Telegraph Hill and Rincon Point. "It was then, and for many years afterwards," Hittell writes, "a mere waste, the northern and western portions rough and deeply gullied, and the central and southern portions covered with sand ridges. Most of it was overgrown with bushes, chaparral and a few scrubby oak trees. There were no human inhabitants, except now and then a few strolling Indians, but wild cats and coyotes were plentiful; deer were often seen, not unfrequently cougars and sometimes grizzly bears. Among the underbrush there was found in great quantity the little aromatic or mint-like vine, called by the Spaniards "yerba buena" or good herb, and from its abundance the place seems to have derived its name. Borica appears to have been one of the first in whose writings the name is found, and he speaks of it as familiarly known. So far as known, the first permanent structure was the battery erected by Córdoba in the fall of 1797 at what was called Black Point. Since then ships frequently anchored at the cove of Yerba Buena.[4]

The real beginnings of the town of Yerba Buena date from the year 1835, however. In the month of May of that year, Governor José Figueroa informed William A. Richardson that he had resolved to establish a settllement at Yerba Buena for

[4] Hittell, *California*, i, 584-585.

the convenience of public officials, and offered to make him head official of the port if he would live there. Figueroa appears to have been induced to make this offer on account of a memorial which Richardson had written in favor of the place seven years before.[5]

Richardson, an Englishman by birth, had landed at the Golden Gate in 1822, and seems to have become at once acquainted with Fr. Thomas Esténaga, then in charge of Mission Dolores, who appears to have with the permit of Governor Solá engaged him to ply his trades of bricklayer, carpenter, etc., at the Mission. In the following year, June 16th, after the usual course of instruction, Richardson was baptized under the name Antonio. He was then twenty-seven years of age. Two years later, 1824, he married Maria Antonia, a daughter of Ignácio Martínez, the commander of the presidio. In 1830 he was moreover naturalized, and so became a Mexican citizen. On receiving the offer from Governor Figueroa, Richardson with his family moved to the locality of Yerba Buena, and there constructed the first dwelling in the proposed settlement. It was nothing more than a tent, or a shanty of boards with a sail-cloth roof. In 1836 this temporary cabin made room for a large adobe house on a lot one hundred *varas* square, which had been granted him by José Castro, temporary governor of California. The only restriction put on his choice of land was that it must not be within two hundred *varas* (yards) of the beach, as that space would be reserved for public purposes. The lot selected lay on what is now Dupont Street, between Clay and Washington streets.[6]

In the same year, 1836, Jacob P. Leese, a native of Ohio, secured from Governor Mariano Chico a lot adjoining Richardson's, and there completed a frame building on July 4th, 1836. The event was duly celebrated in connection with the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and the United

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[5] Hittell, *California,* ii, 203.

[6] Bancroft, v, 694; Hittell, ii, 202-206; Dwinelle, *Narrative,* 60; *Addenda,* No. xxxiv; *Annals of San Francisco,* 162-163.

States flag was hoisted for the first time in the territory which just ten years later became a part of the United States. Mr. Leese on April 1, 1837, married Rosalía Vallejo, a sister of Don Mariano Vallejo, and on April 7th the couple at holy Mass received the nuptial blessing. From this marriage resulted the birth on April 15, 1838, of Rosalía Leese, the first child born at Yerba Buena.[7] William A. Richardson and Jacob Leese, both converts to the Catholic Faith, were therefore the real founders and first settlers of Yerba Buena.

The Catholics of the place attended divine services at the church of Mission Dolores. As early as the spring of 1842, however, Fr. Lorenzo Quíjas and the settlers contemplated erecting a church at Yerba Buena; for on May 25th of that year, William A. Leidesdorff, another prominent convert, made the following proposition to the priest in charge of the Old Mission:

"My Esteemed and Most Respected Father:—In view of the very welcome letter of Your Reverence, I reply that I am glad to have this opportunity of offering to contribute to the construction of a church and cemetery, which are so much needed, and which this town requires, to the amount of fifty dollars, payable in articles that may be useful for these edifices, and which it may be in my power to procure.—Offering myself anew, I am as ever, your follower, servant, and friend, who kisses your hands.—William Alexander Leidesdorff."[8]

Nothing seems to have come of the plan, as there was no resident priest in charge to keep interest alive. Leidesdorff himself died of the brain fever on March 18, 1848, at the age of only thirty-eight years. The body was buried in the cemetery of the Old Mission.[9]

That there was ample reason for making preparations to build a chapel at Yerba Buena, may be inferred from the census compiled at Mission Dolores on October 31, 1842, by Fran-

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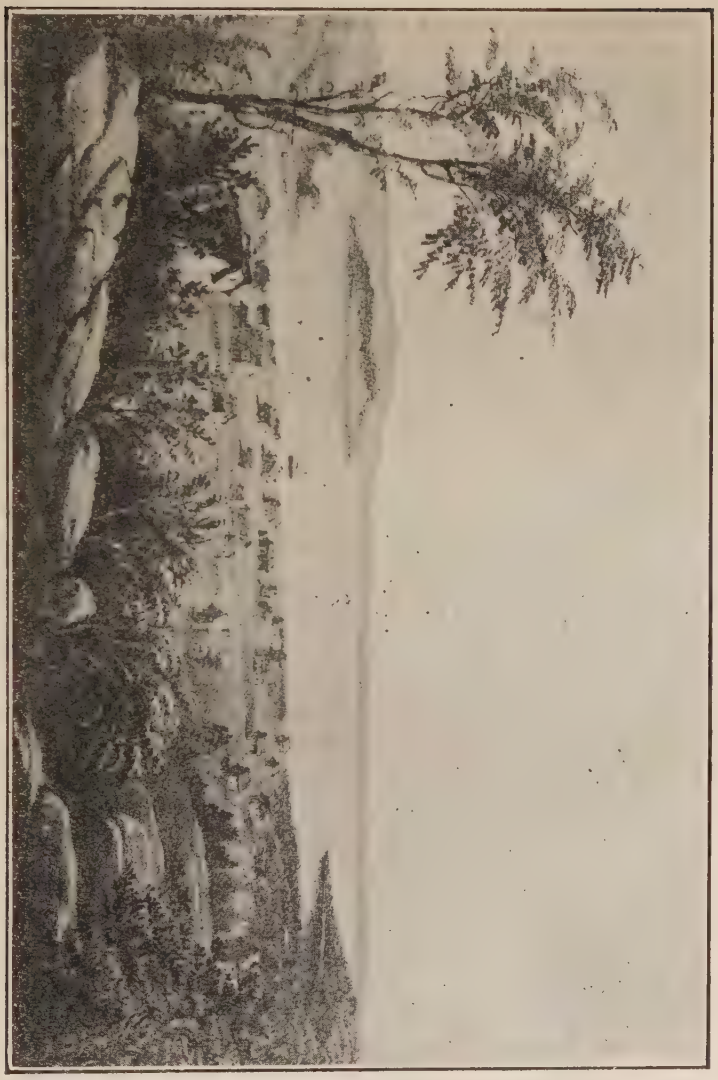
[7] Bancroft iv, 710; *Annals of San Francisco,* 167-172; *Baptismal Register,* San José Mission.

[8] *Escrituras Sueltas* in the Archbishop's Archives.

[9] *Annals of San Francisco,* 201.



SAN FRANCISCO OR YERBA BUENA IN 1847

cisco Sanchez. This document contained the names of 196 individuals, of whom 76 were men, 42 women, 42 boys, and 36 girls, who lived in the jurisdiction of San Francisco, that is to say, at Yerba Buena, Old Mission Dolores, and the presidio. In this list were noted seven Englishmen, one Dane (Leidesdorff), one Scotchman (R. McAlister), two Irishmen (John Coppinger and James Hennesy), one Frenchman, one Hollander, twelve Americans, eight Kanakas (Sandwich Islanders), one Indian boy from the Sacramento region, and thirty-seven neophytes or Mission Indians. All the rest were classed as Mexicans.[10] Hence, about five-sixths of the whole population of the district was Catholic. The remainder most probably formed a part of Yerba Buena.

The town grew but slowly at this period. Even as late as July, 1846, it counted only about 250 souls. Then came a change. At 8 o'clock on the morning of July 9, 1846, Captain John B. Montgomery, of the United States sloop-of-war *Portsmouth,* landed with seventy men at the foot of Clay Street, marched to the lively music of fife and drums to Kearny Street, and thence to the plaza, or public square. Here, by order of Commodore John D. Sloat, who on Tuesday, July 7th, had raised the American flag at Monterey, the capital, he hoisted the Stars and Stripes on the pole in front of the customhouse. After a short address to the public, Montgomery had Commodore Sloat's proclamation read in English and in Spanish, and then posted to the flagstaff. On August 26th the captain appointed Lieutenant Washington A. Bartlett temporary alcalde or magistrate, and ordered an election for September 15th. Of the 96 votes cast Bartlett received 66 and was accordingly declared first alcalde under American rule. Lieutenant H. B. Watson was put in command of the garrison. The old customhouse was occupied by the military, and a battery of guns from the presidio was placed near the foot of Vallejo Street.

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[10] Dwinelle, *Colonial History, Narrative* 71, *Addenda,* No. lv.

The population of Yerba Buena more than doubled, when on July 31, 1846, the *Brooklyn* sailed into the harbor, and landed over 200 Mormon passengers, men, women, and children, at the Clay Street wharf. Under the leadership of Samuel Brannan, a printer by trade, but an elder in the Church of the Latter Day Saints, they intended to establish a Mormon settlement on the peninsula. They held the first non-Catholic religious services in the town from the second Sunday after their arrival. In less than two years, however, all dispersed. Brannan, on January 9, 1847, began to publish the first newspaper, *The California Star.* It appeared as a weekly for about two years, when the name was changed to *The Alta California,* and issued as a daily newspaper till June 2, 1891.[11]

A highly important announcement, which pleased all the inhabitants of the place, appeared in *The California Star* of January 30, 1847. It read as follows:

AN ORDINANCE

Whereas the local name of Yerba Buena, as applied to the settlement or town of San Francisco, is unknown beyond the district; and has been applied from the local name of the cove, on which the town is built; *Therefore,* to prevent confusion and mistakes in public documents, and that the town may have the advantage of the name given on the public map;—*It is hereby ordained,* that the name of SAN FRANCISCO shall hereafter be used in all official communications and public documents, or records appertaining to the town.—Washington A. Bartlett, *Chief Magistrate.*—Published by order.—J. G. T. Dunleavy, Municipal Clerk.[12]

The term Yerba Buena in consequence speedily fell into disuse; but Bartlett's action was vehemently protested by Mariano Vallejo, because with Robert Semple and Thomas O. Larkin he had planned to establish a great city on the Straits of Carquinez, which was to be known as the City of Francisca in honor of his wife. When the three speculators observed that their protests were ignored, and that *San Francisco* had become the universally accepted appellation for the

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[11] Z. S. Eldredge, *Beginnings of San Francisco,* 587-588.

[12] *Annals of San Francisco,* pp. 178-179.

city on the peninsula, they changed the name of their projected settlement to *Benícia,* another baptismal name of Mrs. Vallejo.[13]

On January 16, 1847, *The California Star* urged the necessity of a school for the children of the town. In the following April a Mr. J. D. Marston opened a private school in a small shanty on the block between Broadway and Pacific Street, west of Dupont Street. There for almost a year he taught between twenty and thirty pupils, the parents paying for the tuition. Late in the same year the town built a schoolhouse on the southwest corner of Portsmouth Square and fronting on Clay Street. On April 3, 1848, the town trustees opened the school in the unpretentious building just completed, and placed it in charge of Mr. Thomas Douglas, a graduate of Yale College. Soon after this Mr. Marston discontinued his private school, and Mr. Douglas collected about forty pupils. The excitement caused by the discovery of gold carried both teacher and trustees to the mines. In April, 1849, the school was reopened under the management of the Rev. A. Williams, a Presbyterian preacher. In the following month of May, he also organized the First Presbyterian Church with six members in a tent on Dupont Street. Before him, however, May, 1847, a Rev. T. M. Leavenworth had endeavored to start an Episcopal congregation. In the same month and year a Rev. J. H. Wilbur tried to organize a Sunday School for the Methodists. Like the preceding venture, this effort of the Methodists met the fate of the secular school, owing to the stampede for the gold mines.[14]

In June, 1847, the population of San Francisco proper consisted of 375 white people, 34 Indians, 40 Sandwich Islanders, and 10 negroes. Of those classed as white 228 were born in the United States, 27 in Germany, 22 in England, 14 in Ireland, 14 in Scotland, 6 in Switzerland, 39 were termed Mexicans, and the remainder hailed from various parts of the world.

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[13] Hittell, *California,* ii, 597-598; Bancroft, v, 671.

[14] Eldredge, *Beginnings of San Francisco,* 588-589; *Annals of San Francisco,* 197, 677-678, 690.

Chinese and Japanese had not as yet appeared.[15] Before the lapse of another half-decade the city became the gathering place of adventurers from almost every nation on the globe. The world-wide excitement was caused by the discovery of gold on the south branch of the American River, fifty miles from Fort Sutter, now Sacramento City. James W. Marshall, in the employ of Captain John A. Sutter, made the momentous find on January 24, 1848.

FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOLHOUSE IN SAN FRANCISCO

The news spread like wild fire. At San Francisco the immediate effect was the abandonment of the town by almost every male inhabitant who could handle a pick or shovel. Governor Richard B. Mason, who with Lieutenant W. T. Sherman passed through the place on his way to the mining region, reported the situation as follows: "We reached San Francisco on the 20th of June, 1848, and found that all, or nearly all, its male population had gone to the mines. The town, which a few months before was so busy and thriving, was then almost

[15] *Annals of San Francisco*, 176-177.

deserted. . . . The discovery of these vast deposits of gold has entirely changed the character of Upper California. The people, before engaged in cultivating their small patches of ground and guarding their herds of cattle and horses, have all gone to the mines or are on their way thither; laborers of every trade have left their work-benches, and tradesmen their shops; sailors desert their ships as fast as they arrive on the coast, and several vessels have gone to sea with hardly enough hands to spread a sail; two or three are now at anchor in San Francisco (harbor) with no crews on board. Many desertions, too, have taken place from the garrisons within the influence of the mines; 26 soldiers have deserted from the post of Sonoma, 24 from that of San Francisco, and 24 from Monterey. The danger of apprehension is small, and the prospect of higher wages, certain. . . . I really think some extraordinary mark of favor should be given to those soldiers who remain faithful to the flag throughout this tempting crisis. No officer can now live in California on his pay."[16]

On May 29, 1848, *The Californian* issued a small sheet apologizing for having to suspend publication, as every one down to the printer's devil had gone off to the diggings. *The California Star* held out longer; but on June 14th the owner sadly announced that his paper could not be made by magic, and, as everybody was deserting him, the press and paper would stop altogether.[17]

This state of things continued all through the summer and fall of 1848. Then came a change. A short experience in the mines satisfied the easy-going first settlers that the coveted gold could not be obtained except by dint of hard work, and that even then success was doubtful. So they returned to their old quarters, and found that much greater profits could be secured with far less labor and danger in supplying the necessities of the miners and speculating in real estate. When trade

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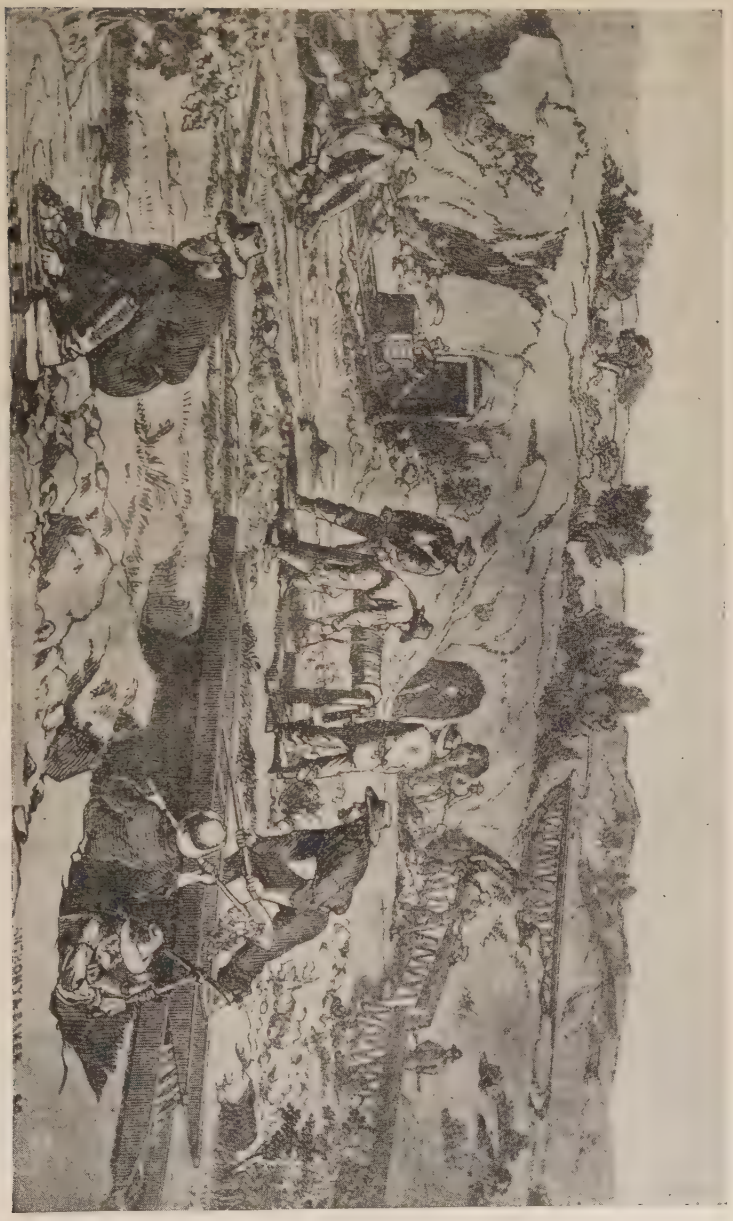
[16] *Messages, Executive Document, No. 17,* 529, 533. (Halleck's Report.)

[17] *Annals of San Francisco,* 204.



MINERS DIGGING AND WASHING GOLD

was brisk and profits so large, nobody grudged to pay any price. Coin was scarce, but little bags of gold at sixteen dollars an ounce furnished a circulating medium. For a time everybody made money and was growing rich. Great quantities of goods, as well as numerous immigrants, arrived till there was no warehouse to shelter the former and no rooms to welcome the latter. Few regular houses were built, because neither material nor sufficient labor could be had. So the sand-hills around the town were overspread with a multitude of canvas, blankets, and bough-covered tents, which served the purpose for the time being. The bay was alive with shipping vessels and small craft carrying passengers and goods backwards and forwards. Nearly 200 square-rigged vessels lay at anchor about the end of July, 1849. Gambling dens, saloons, and vile resorts would be open and alive during the whole twenty-four hours. Thefts, robberies, murders, and other outrages occurred, as there were no proper officials to bring the criminals to justice.[18]

By the beginning of 1849, the population of San Francisco had increased to 2,000 souls. Two months later it was probably 3,000, and in July it might have been 5,000. By the close of the year the population was estimated at between 20,000 and 25,000. Only a small proportion consisted of females.

The immigrants, who poured into California by way of Cape Horn and the Isthmus of Panamá, or who braved the perils of the deserts and the barbarities of the savages overland, belonged to all classes, conditions, nationalities, and religious persuasions. Americans, Irish, English, and Germans predominated; but numerous Swiss, Scots, French, Italians, etc., likewise yielded to the lure of gold and adventure. A considerable percentage was Catholic, and this fact added greatly to the anxieties of the venerable administrator of the vacant diocese who resided at Santa Barbara; for, when the cry of *Gold! Gold!* resounded through the country, the entire clergy of California consisted

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[18] *Annals of San Francisco*, 214-248, *passim*.

of seven Franciscans and four secular priests, all Spaniards or Mexicans, and these were needed among the Indians and Spanish-speaking people. Additional priests had therefore to be sought outside of California and Mexico, especially for the English-speaking immigrants at San Francisco. This naturally takes us to Mission Dolores, still the center of Catholicity on the peninsula.

CHAPTER XXVII

Remnant of Mission Property Coveted.—Use Granted Provisionally.—Gov. Micheltorena and U. S. Authorities in Agreement.—Gov. Mason's Instructions.—Historical Documents Collected.—Mission Occupied.—Unwelcome Guests.—Gerstaecker's Description.—Punishing Judas.—Last of the Neophytes.—A Pretty Custom.—Father Santillan Disheartened.—The Administrator Endeavers to Secure Priests.—Those Who Came.—Very Rev. J. Brouillet and Rev. A. Langlois.—First Holy Mass at Yerba Buena.—The Church.—Father Langlois's Description.

THERE is little to report about Mission Dolores for the years 1845-48, the period preceding the excitement that resulted from the discovery of gold. Pio Pico's illegal decree for the sale of the Mission had not been executed here, because no one seems to have offered anything for what was left of the property; and "no definite or formal disposition is known to have been made of the remnants of the ex-mission estate."[1] Only the Potrero, that is to say, the cattle grounds lying between the Mission and the Mission Bay, had not as yet been disposed of by the spring of 1844; but this was then coveted by Ramon and Francisco de Haro, as is plain from the petition which reads as follows:

"Francisco de Haro and Ramon de Haro, in the name of our family, Mexican by birth, *and living in the Ex-Mission of San Francisco de Asis*[2], *appear* before Your Excellency with the greatest submission and represent that, being compelled to remove from the ranch of the deceased José Antonio Sanchez the portion of cattle belonging to our deceased mother, and as we wish to tame them, we beg Your Excellency, in the exercise of your authority to grant us a small piece of land called *Potrero de San Francisco,* in extent from North to South 2,288 varas (Spanish yards), and from East to West 2,508 varas, measuring up to the 'Lomerias' (Range of Highlands), because there is no competent person to do it, according to the annexed *diseño* (sketch), which we submit to Your Excellency; and as said parcel of land can be enclosed,

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[1] Bancroft's, v. 659.

[2] Italics inserted.

SAN FRANCISCO IN 1849

we intend to place in it the tame cattle, because the range of our father's cattle is insufficient and all occupied, and he has given us due permission to make a petition, as we are under parental control. Therefore we entreat Your Excellency to grant us this benefit, whereby we shall receive favor and grace, making oath that we are not instigated either by malice or bad motives. There being no sealed paper here we could not use it.—San Francisco, April 12, 1844."

On receipt of the petition, Governor Micheltorena directed his Secretary of State, Manuel Jimeno, to make the necessary report. The Secretary then reported as follows:

"The Mission of San Francisco *now has no live stock (bienes) whatever,* and therefore the *Potrero* petitioned for is vacant, as the petitioners have shown by the report of the respective justice; and as the common lands of said establishment are to be designated, I think that in the meantime the interested parties may occupy the land by a provisional license, which Your Excellency may be pleased to give them, it being no prejudice to the community, nor to any individual whatever. Monterey, April 30, 1844. Manuel Jimeno."

Micheltorena accordingly, on May 1st, gave permission to occupy the said half square league with the *proviso* that the land cannot be sold or alienated.[3] The fact is, as Dwinelle points out, *the governor and his secretary still regarded all land as the lawful property of the neophytes.* Pio Pico and his fellow conspirators on the other hand, declared it to belong to the (Mexican) Nation and therefore subject to the disposal of those in power, and so they disposed of Mission lands and other property as seemed expedient to them, without regard to the rights of the original owners. The United States authorities, however, took the view of Governor Micheltorena, whom the paisano chiefs drove out of the territory for that very view of his. General Kearny, for instance, had all squatters removed from the Mission estates and these restored to the missionaries, until the United States Courts should determine the question. Governor Mason took the same view as late as the spring of

[3] Dwinelle, *Colonial History* of San Francisco, *Narr.* 74-75; *Addenda,* No. LX., 86-88.

1848. The subjoined document shows where all American officers stood regarding the subject of Mission property.

"Headquarters Tenth Military Department, Monterey, California, February 5, 1848.—Sir: I desire that you will confer with Padre José Prudencio Santillan, the Minister of San Francisco and San Rafael, with the view of ascertaining if there be any lands appertaining to those missions which are not claimed by others, and which can be put in possession of Padre Santillan for the cultivation and use of the Indians of said mission.

"It would be well for you, in company with the padre, to visit those missions, and, from actual observation, to possess yourself of all the necessary information as to what lands can be appropriated for the use of the Indians, without conflicting with other claimants. *Not that I think any of the claims to the mission lands purporting to have been derived from Pio Pico in the last days of his authority can ever hold good*, but that the time to investigate them has not yet arrived.[4]

"Learn, also, what movable property there is belonging to those missions, and in whose possession it is, that can be appropriated to the use of said Indians; and require them to give an inventory of the same and hold it in readiness to be delivered up when I call for it.

"After obtaining all the information, make a report to me, touching the quantity of land property, etc., that can be made available for the Indians.—I have the honor to be your obedient servant, R. B. Mason, *Col. 1st Dragoons, Governor of California.*—To the Commanding Officer, *San Francisco.*[5]

It is clear that, from Major W. H. Emory, who was the first to express himself on the subject early in 1847,[6] to Colonel Mason, all American officers felt that a great wrong had been done to the Missions and the Mission neophytes by the Pico-Alvarado-Vallejo clique; that their hearts went out to the scattered and helpless Indians of those establishments; and that they sought to ameliorate the sad condition of the wronged neophyte Christians.

Mason and Halleck (the later General Halleck of Civil War fame) were both also solicitous to preserve all documents per-

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[4] The time arrived, as we shall see ere long. The U. S. Court then verified Mason's surmise by adjudging the Church property, at least, to the rightful owner. Italics inserted.

[5] *Ex. Doc.*, No. 17, or Halleck's Report, 472.

[6] *The Missions*, iv, 581-582; also, *Mission San Luis Rey*, 138-140.

taining to the history of California. Halleck himself personally undertook the task of collecting the rich material, as we see from the following order, for instance:

"State Department of the Territory of California, *Monterey,* September 18, 1847.—Sir: You are requested to procure the records and papers of the Mission of San Francisco de Asis (also called Dolores), and of the Mission of San Rafael, and forward the same to this office for safekeeping. Very respectfully, your obedient servant.—H. W. Halleck, *Lieutenant of Engineers, and Secretary of State for the Territory of California.*—To Capt. J. L. Folsom, *Assistant Quartermaster, San Francisco, California.*"

A similar order went on the same date to the commanding officer at Sonoma, Captain Brackett, regarding the Mission of San Francisco Solano.[7]

The following item reported by Bancroft[8] shows that the Mission buildings early in 1846 were occupied, although not by neophytes, who generally served as domestics or servants at Yerba Buena and elsewhere. On January 4, 1846, Sub-Prefect Francisco Guerrero of Yerba Buena forwarded to the governor a petition of residents that they be permitted to continue their residence in the ex-mission buildings in order that the majordomo might not remove the roofs, as he had done in the case of other abandoned dwellings. This proves that there was still a majordomo—Tibúrcio Vásquez, it seems—there in April, at $20 per month; for on April 20th Guerrero wrote to the prefect of the north, Manuel Castro, that Father Santillan wanted two rooms for schools, and the majordomo should be ordered to give them up, as his salary was a useless expense anyway. He lived in the house, sold brandy, had no duties to perform, and his cattle were always about the church.

The wild times succeeding the discovery of gold brought even more unwelcome guests to poor Mission Dolores, if we may believe the German traveler Frederick Gerstaecker, who professed to have witnessed the scenes in 1849.

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[7] *Halleck's Report,* 396-397.

[8] *California,* v, 660.

"The Mission," he writes, "which during the last weeks had considerably increased in importance, is situated about three miles from San Francisco. The building, a large square structure of sun-dried bricks enclosing a wide court-yard, has undergone the most extraordinary change which any habitation could ever be subjected to. If any of the old priests, who are buried close to the gray walls,[9] could suddenly rise from his narrow grave, and see the change which a few months have effected here, he would wring his skeleton hands in dismay."

"At present the church maintains its old place, the Spaniards (Mexicans) being still in a majority, and too much attached to their religion not to defend their sanctuary with the stubbornness of the national character. The priest's habitation, on the other hand, has been considerably curtailed, and more and more encroached upon by foreign intruders. The Mission has now, however, received the addition of a brewery, two taverns, a dancing-room, a saloon for drinking and gambling, a number of private lodgings, and a hosptial with quarters for a physician.

"The brewery belonged to friends of mine, the brothers Von Witzleben. They had taken over the business of another German, who had unsuccessfully attempted to accustom the Mexicans to beer-drinking. Brisk orders were now coming in from San Francisco and Sacramento. The brewery, however, sold its beer in casks only, or in bottles, by the dozen, which had the effect that nearly every week new drinking booths sprung up near the Mission. Very regularly every Saturday evening there would be the *Fandango*, and on Sundays there would be an influx of a gay crowd from San Francisco."

The following paragraph throws some light on the *Laguna de los Dolores* and the outlet to the bay.

"The main labors here," Gerstaecker writes, "consisted not only in brewing beer, but in procuring wood from the neighboring bush, and the execution of the town orders which was generally effected by water, at that time the most convenient highway. The younger Witzleben and I mostly undertook this part of the business. It happened very often that when the tide was out we stuck fast in the tough mud of the bay until the tide rose and released us. The entrance to the creek near the Mission was not particularly interesting, for it consisted in a very narrow channel without the least landmark on the shore save a few thin poles which could not be seen in a dark night.

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[9] No priests died at Mission Dolores, and none was buried there during its whole existence as a Mission; but more than 5,000 Indians were laid to rest in the cemetery.

"Easter was approaching; and all sorts of preparations were made at the Mission, especially a thorough cleaning and ventilating of the church took place. Good Friday passed by quietly, and the bells were not rung, instead of which small boys were sent through the streets with a sort of castanets to call the faithful to the church. Next morning the aspect of the place was changed. An old settler informed me that 'today the Resurrection of the Lord would be celebrated, and Judas Iscariot would be duly chastised.' Even the Indians seemed to feel the influence of the great festival to be celebrated. At all events, they were seen cleanly washed; and all wore blue water lilies, which grow thereabouts in abundance. Thus ornamented they formed a procession, and at the tune of a violin they marched into the church. At a signal from the priest the music stopped, the tinkling of a little bell made all drop on their knees, and then for an hour all worshipped in silence. After the service, a shot was fired on the outside, which was the signal for every one to rise and leave to witness the torturing and execution of a stuffed figure representing Judas."

Gerstaecker at great length describes the grotesque spectacle, which is hardly worth repeating here.

Gerstaecker then deplores the vice of liquor drinking among the Indians, and truly says that:

"Drunkenness is a vice for which the Indians have to thank the (so-called) Christians. One's heart aches at sight of the strong figures who, degraded to the state of brutes by vile liquor, roll on the wayside and end in destruction. The few Indians who still lingered about the Mission, professed to be Christians, and the women, at least, conducted themselves very properly, washing and sewing for the Spaniards into whose families they were sometimes received as domestics. There are still small bands of these Indians roving about, camping in the open air, and living on what they secure in some way, or beg from the settlers. The better class, however, live in well-kept houses, wear suitable clothing and speak the Spanish language.

"In the church I saw about that time the marriage of a young girl of a Mission with a Californian from Los Angeles. There is here a strange custom, according to which the young couple during the ceremony, and whilst they are still kneeling before the altar, are tied together with ropes and covered with a large cloth."[10]

What Gerstaeker beheld was the bestowal of the nuptial blessing upon the couple married just before holy Mass, and

[10] Gerstaecker, *Travels,* chapter xv.—London, 1854.

"JUDAS ISCARIOT DULY CHASTISED" ON HOLY SATURDAY

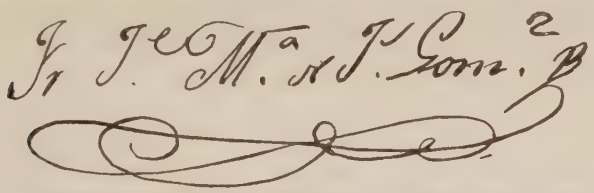
it was given before holy Communion. It was Spanish custom to throw a piece of white gauze over the couple during this benediction so as to veil them. Hence the term *velados—veiled,* meaning that the couple had been married at a holy Mass, or that the couple, married before, now received the nuptial blessing. The tying with strings and veiling with gauze had nothing to do with the rubrics. The pretty custom has gone out of use in California.

After this glimpse of the situation at Mission Dolores in matters temporal, we now turn to its spiritual condition and prospects. Father Santillan as directed, had endeavored to serve three former missionary centers, but discovered that he could do justice to none of them. Dolores, especially, with its rapidly growing neighbor, whose people spoke a language not his own, caused him much apprehension. He doubtless communicated his fears and predicament to the Very Rev. Administrator of the vacant diocese, Fr. José González Rúbio, O. F. M., who, however, had observed the necessity of procuring English-speaking priests ever since the American troops had taken possession of the territory.

There had been a brisk traffic and friendly intercourse between the Sandwich Islands and California for many years. Since 1839 Catholicity had secured freedom from sectarian persecution at Honolulu, and a Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Louis Maigret, C. SS. CC., with the title of Vicar Apostolic, resided there. To him, as the nearest neighbor, Fr. González Rúbio on March 26, 1848, turned for relief. He pleaded for but two Fathers of the Society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary to arrest the destruction of Religion among the Spanish people on the coast. The rumor of the discovery of gold just two months previously may have hastened his appeal for assistance, although the real gold-fever, which brought thousands of adventurers to northern California, did not begin to rage till some months later. Bishop Maigret was unable to comply at once, but in the following October he hastened two of his priests, who like himself belonged to the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, or Picpus Fathers, to San Fran-

cisco. They were the Fathers Stanislaus Le Bret and John Chrysostom Holbein, who arrived at the port of San Francisco on some not specified day in December, 1848. One or both seem to have made the journey to Santa Barbara, since their faculties conceded there for the whole diocese of California by Fr. González Rúbio were not issued till January 23, 1849. Father Holbein was directed to proceed to San Diego and to take charge of that part of the territory. Father Le Bret was assigned to vacant Mission San José.[11]

Meanwhile the Very Rev. Administrator had also appealed to the Most Rev. Francis Norbert Blanchet, Archbishop of Oregon City. As no other priests were available, His Grace commissioned the Very Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet, vicar-general



SIGNATURE OF THE VERY REV. ADMINISTRATOR

of the diocese of Walla-Walla (Nesqually), to devote himself especially to the numerous Oregonian gold-seekers in California, subject to the disposition of the Very Rev. Administrator.[12] Father Brouillet landed at San Francisco on some unknown day in December, 1848. It seems he found neither the town nor the Mission a suitable place to stay. At all events, he chose to take refuge at Santa Clara, where he was welcomed by Fr. José Reál, O. F. M. Father Brouillet then informed Fr. González Rúbio that he was at the service of the diocese. No mail service had as yet been established, and thus the letter failed to reach Santa Barbara till February 17, 1849, on which day Fr. González Rúbio issued the faculties to the Oregonian visitor, who received the document some time in March. In

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[11] *Libro de Gobierno del Obispado.* See also *The Missions,* iv, 612-613.

[12] *The Missions,* iv, 613-615.

the meanwhile, by permit of Fr. Reál, Father Brouillet began to perform priestly duties at Santa Clara by officiating at a Baptism on January 8, 1849, and entered it in the Baptismal Register under number 10,871.

On February 17, 1849, Fr. González Rúbio also authorized Father Brouillet to erect a church at San Francisco (Yerba Buena) in *accord with Father Santillan,* who seems to have seldom officiated at his principal charge, Mission Dolores. At all events, we find his name, during this year, in the Mission Registers of Santa Clara, San José, San Rafael, and even so far south as Mission San Carlos on March 17 and July 20. He appears to have become restless and disheartened under the trying circumstances and eagerly desirous of being relieved. As soon, therefore, as Father Brouillet came upon the scene, fully able to converse in the tongues of the immigrants, Father Santillan offered his resignation to the Very Rev. Administrator. Fortunately for him, at this time, the date is unknown, two Italian Franciscans, having the faculties of missionaries apostolic, arrived in the country. Fr. González Rúbio issued the faculties of the diocese to them on May 30, 1849. One of them, Fr. Paulino Romani, was directed to take Father Santillan's place at Mission Dolores. The other, Fr. Alexander M. Branchi, was sent to Mission San Buenaventura. Father Santillan was appointed temporary pastor of Mission San José.[13]

To Fr. Romani the Very Rev. Administrator, under date of June 13, 1849, wrote as follows:

"Whereas, the new town of Yerba Buena is increasing its population from day to day, almost by the hundreds, and a large number of them are Catholics who desire to hear the word of God, assist at the divine services, and receive the holy Sacraments, which to their deep grief they cannot receive frequently, and some cannot comply even with the precept of hearing holy Mass on days of obligation on account of the lack of carriages, horses, etc.; wishing to relieve this manifest need, I hereby authorize your Reverence, as soon as the chapel is in condition (which must be made ready while the church is under construction at

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[13] *Libro de Gobierno.*

Yerba Buena) to erect that church in my name as an auxiliary[14] to the parochial church of San Francisco (i.e. Dolores). You will secure for it the baptismal font, parish registers, the cemetery, and whatever it may need. For this purpose you may take up a collection to pay for the cost of the font, the books, and the cemetery requisites. When the latter has been properly arranged and suitably fenced in, I hereby authorize you to bless it solemnly according to the Ritual. Until then you will not permit that the body of any one that died in communion with the Catholic Church to be interred in the town of Yerba Buena.[15]

Fr. Romani seems to have been thoroughly frightened at the difficulties encountered, and to have left the country. At all events, his name does not appear in any register or document pertaining to any of the northern Missions. In the spring of the year, however, the Rev. Anthony Langlois, a Canadian priest, came to San Francisco by way of Oregon. He notified Fr. González Rúbio, who issued the necessary faculties dated May 30, 1849, without any especial assignment. Father Langlois joined himself to Father Brouillet, and both then took charge of affairs at San Francisco in good earnest, while Father Santillan seems to have been told to again take charge of Dolores. At least, this is the information we gather from the Mission Registers and the *Libro de Gobierno* which show that he attended Mission Dolores till the spring of 1850. His last entry in the Baptismal Register was No. 7,262, made on November 29, 1849. On April 20, 1850, he received from Fr. González Rúbio the permit to visit Guadalajara, Mexico, for the purpose of recovering his health, but he never returned to California.

Acting in conformity with the instructions given him by Fr. González Rúbio on February 17, 1849, Father Brouillet arranged an oratory in the room of a house belonging to Major James A. Hardie, military commander of the U. S. troops at the port of San Francisco, who was a convert to the Catholic Faith.[16] Here, according to Father Langlois, on June 17, 1849,

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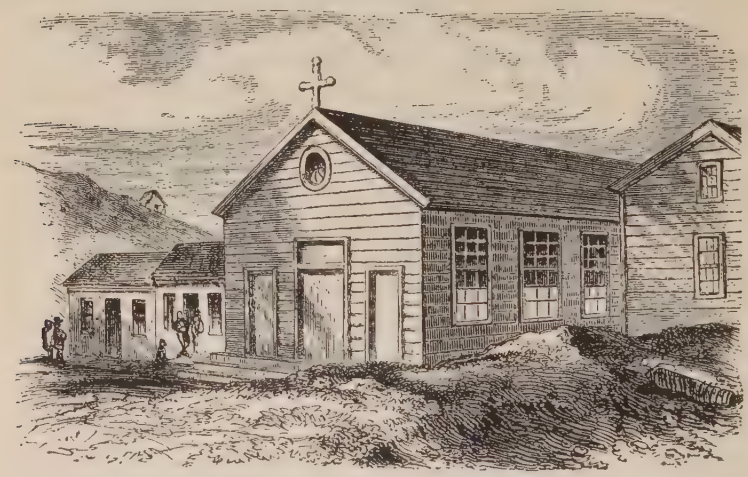
[14] La erija en nombre mio en ayuda de Parroquial (i.e., Dolores).

[15] *Libro Borrador,* or book containing transcripts of official documents.

[16] Rev. W. Gleeson, *History of the Catholic Church in California.* ii, 201-202.

the third Sunday after Pentecost, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was offered up for the first time at the former Yerba Buena, now San Francisco. Being a Sunday, both priests doubtless celebrated Holy Mass. Doubtless, too, there was a sermon, although the report of Father Langlois omitted these details. "A beginning was made for the building of a church," Father Langlois now relates more in detail, "by the purchase of a piece of ground 25 by 50 varas (about 70 by 140 ft.), after



FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN YERBA BUENA—SAN FRANCISCO

he (Brouillet) had called the more zealous Catholics together, and opened a subscription of $5,000 to pay for the lot and the building to be erected on it.

"This building was constructed so as to contain as many persons as possible, care being taken to avoid anything that might narrow or divide it. Its walls and ceiling were covered with white cotton cloth. Some ladies adorned its little altar. Afterwards we took up our abode in the attic, viz.: Father Brouillet, Father Langlois, who had come some months previously from Oregon, and Capt. A. Raballon, a friend of the Fathers, who had resigned the command of a ship of which he was tired. He had sought rest in the bosom of Religion,

which by the protecting, and the bringing, and the aiding of missionaries, he had propagated in the Islands of the Pacific Ocean; and even here he employed himself in arranging the house, etc. During the week, Father Brouillet departed for Santa Barbara to visit Rev. Fr. González, Superior and Administrator of the Diocese of California, *Sede vacante*. He was absent two months and a few days. During this time our good Captain died, leaving a considerable sum as a legacy to the Church which had taken care of him, and which was called upon to arrange all his affairs.

"Religion now began to be practiced a little in spite of the natural obstacles thrown in its way by the thirst for gold; gold, of which all had come in search from every part of the globe; in spite of the drawbacks of uncertain employment, of various inconveniences, of the intermingling of people, strangers to one another, and this in tents for a considerable number; in spite of the temptations of bar-rooms and saloons on every hand for the multitudes that frequented them to amuse themselves, drink, and spend their time; in spite of the smallness of what was at once a church and a residence, and the poorness of its exterior; all taken in conjunction with the shortcomings of its curate (Langlois), who was called upon to speak English, Spanish, and French in the same sermon that he might be understood by all; as well as the lack of the time needed to go and invite Catholic households to church and let them know *that it was possible for a person to save his soul in San Francisco.*"[17] The Italics are Langlois's.

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[17] Langlois, *Ecclesiastical and Religious Journal for San Francisco,* in *First Half Century of St. Ignatius Church and College,* pp. 19-20. Unfortunately this precious Journal was destroyed in the conflagration of 1906 along with the College.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Jesuit Fathers Arrive.—Very Rev. J. Brouillet Departs.—Jesuits Welcomed by the Very Rev. Administrator.—Arrival of Secular Priests and Picpus Fathers.—Rev. A. Langlois Appointed Vicar Forane.—Takes Oath.—New Pastors at Dolores.—Rt. Rev. J. S. Alemany, O. P., Appointed Bishop of Monterey.—His Letter to Fr. Anderson.—Fr. González Rúbio Declines a Bishopric.—Bishop Alemany Appears Unexpectedly.—Public Sentiment.—The Cordial Reception.—Addresses.

THE Very Rev. Administrator, through Father Brouillet, also invited the Jesuit Fathers of Oregon to California for the purpose of establishing a college in the northern part of the diocese and another at Los Angeles. The two Fathers Michael Accolti and John Nobili were at last permitted to proceed to San Francisco, and for the time being to put themselves at the disposition of the Administrator. "We reached the object of our journey," writes Father Accolti, "arriving on the night of December 8th (1849), so that the next day (Sunday) we were able to set foot on the longed-for shores of what goes under the name of San Francisco, but which, whether it should be called madhouse or Babylon, I am at a loss to determine; so great in those days was the disorder, the brawling, the open immorality, the reign of crime which brazen-faced triumphed on a soil not yet brought under the sway of human laws. In San Francisco we found Father Langlois only, who, single-handed, struggled in the midst of a storm of contradiction and difficulties. Father Brouillet had already set out for Oregon, and we passed each other at sea, having scarcely time to salute each other from the quarter deck."[1]

Father Brouillet had tarried in the country around the Bay of San Francisco just one year. During that period he had organized the parish of Saint Francis, built the first church, brought the worthy Father Langlois from Oregon, and was

[1] Riordan, *First Half Century*, 22-23.

J. B. A. Brouillet

instrumental in persuading the Jesuits to accept the urgent invitation of the Very Rev. Administrator.

Twenty-five years later, 1874, Father Brouillet with General Charles Ewing established the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions at Washington, D. C. On October 14, 1879, he was appointed Director of the Bureau, and served in that capacity until his death, February 15, 1884.

Father Accolti on January 15, 1850, notified Father González Rúbio, who on February 1st promptly forwarded the faculties of the diocese, and under date of March 5th sent a long and touching letter of welcome from which we reproduce the following extracts that need no comments. "With unspeakable satisfaction," writes the Very Rev. Administrator, "have I received your most welcome letter dated January 15th, and written in San José. I answer it by saying that I give infinite thanks to God, our Lord, for the singular favor which He has deigned to confer upon this people in the arrival, so opportune, of your Reverence and worthy associate to help me, by the exercise of your holy ministrations in correcting the morals of my flock, in the education of the youth, and the preservation of Catholic worship throughout this vast diocese committeed to my care. . . .

"Through Father Brouillet I have already expressed my earnest desires that two colleges of the Society of Jesus should be established here; one in the north, where you are, and another here in the south. With this object in view your Reverences were invited to come. Some donations were solicited for the founding of such colleges; but, as the offerings contributed up to the present are small for so great an enterprise, I insisted with Father Brouillet that he should urge you to come, since your presence and the influence that you would acquire by the exercise of your ministry, would be the most efficacious means for bringing about the foundation of the two colleges desired. . . . I desire it and have yearningly desired it. I have begged God with earnest pleadings; and as soon as I can assure myself that your Reverences have collected sufficient money for the foundation of the first college,

and that you have permission from your Superiors to found it, I am ready to send you in writing, and in the prescribed form, the corresponding permission of this diocesan authority. . . .

"I should take it as a great favor if your Reverences would ask of your Father General two excellent priests who would come to the City of Los Angeles, situated in the southern part of California, where the founding of a college is of great importance, and where the people have made an offer of the land necessary, and have made some donations which, with the presence of two Fathers, would quickly be increased by subscriptions, and with God's help the desired foundation would be effected. Kindly present my regards to the Rev. Father John Nobili, and rest assured that you hold at your service the affection of your sincere,—Fr. José Maria de Jesus González."[2] The hopes of the Very Rev. Administrator were eventually realized; but the details belong to the local history of Mission Santa Clara.

In the meantime, during 1849 and 1850, several secular priests arrived and were given the faculties by Fr. González Rúbio. They were the Rev. José Maria Peneiro from Valladolid, Spain, July 26, 1849, who was assigned to the Pueblo of San José; Rev. Francis Coyle from Ireland, November 27, 1849, who became assistant to Father Langlois; Rev. Pedro José Doubet from Paris, France, February 1, 1850, who went to Los Angeles; Rev. John Fahey from Kilmacdough, Ireland, May 1, 1850; Rev. Peter Augustine Anderson, a Dominican, September 17, 1850, assigned to Sacramento; Rev. John Ingoldsby from Chicago, November 5, 1850; and Rev. John Mary A. Delmas from Cahors, France, November 5, 1850, who was made assistant at Mission Dolores.

During the year 1850 several Fathers of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts, or Picpus Fathers, landed at San Francisco from Valparaiso, Chili. They were the Rev. Juan Gaspár Du Monteil, Rev. Theodosius Boissier, and Rev. Felix Migorel,

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[2] Riordan, *First Half Century*, 25-28.

who arrived in March. Father Du Monteil's faculties were dated April 27, 1850, and he was given charge of Mission Dolores, Father Santillan having resigned. The faculties of Fathers Migorel and Boissier were dated May 2, 1850, and both were appointed to the seminary at Mission Santa Inés. In the latter part of September, 1850, two more Picpus Fathers set foot on the shores of San Francisco. They were the Rev. Flavian Fontaine and Rev. Anaclet Lestrade. Their faculties were dated November 2, 1850, and both were assigned to Mission Dolores, Father Lestrade temporarily.

Realizing the difficulties and drawbacks that resulted from having to wait for the requisite ecclesiastical authority from distant Santa Barbara, the Very Rev. Administrator at length named Father Langlois his vicar for the northern part of California, that is to say, "for the whole district of the north of this California from Mission San Antonio inclusive."[3] This district included the following priests and their charges: Rev. Prudencio Santillan, Mission Dolores; Rev. Father José Reál, O. F. M., Missions Santa Clara and San José; Rev. Fr. Antonio Anzar, O. F. M., Missions San Juan Baustista and Santa Cruz; Rev. Fr. José Maria Peneiro, town of San José; Rev. Doroteo Ambris, Mission San Antonio; Rev. Fr. Ignacio R. Arellano, O. P., Monterey; Rev. Peter Doubet, San Rafael; and Rev. Stanislaus Le Bret, C. SS. CC., Sonoma.

The document appointing Father Langlois vicar forane was dated on Febrary 25, 1850, and reached him on Holy Thursday, March 28th. The announcement was made to the people on the following Sunday, as the entry in Father Langlois's Journal demonstrates. "On Sunday, March 31st, the festival of Easter," he writes, "the above appointment (of vicar) was read in Spanish, French, and English at the three different Solemn Masses celebrated for the benefit of the three nations. After it had been read in English at the last Mass, the Rev. Father Accolti, S. J., and Father Coyle, a secular priest, assisting, the profession of Faith and the oath of fidelity, such as are pre-

[3] *Libro de Gobierno.*

scribed by the document aforesaid, and contained in the Roman Pontifical, were pronounced on the steps of the altar by me, the undersigned priest, the Rev. M. Accolti above mentioned acting as the ecclesiastical authority prescribed. — Antoine Langlois, Vicar Forane."[4]

Turning again to Mission Dolores, we find that the Rev. Gaspar du Monteil, C. SS. CC., succeeded Father Santillan as parish priest, and made his first entry in the Baptismal Register on April 5, 1850. No Baptisms had occurred since November 29, 1849, when Father Santillan entered No. 7,262, which of itself tells a story of dismal desolation. Father Du Monteil continued the list with No. 7,263. Till then all entries had been made in Spanish. Father Du Monteil wrote them in Latin, and signed himself on this occasion *L'Abbe de Monteil, Missionary Apostolic.* Not long after, he was given an assistant in the person of the Rev. J. M. Delmas, also a Frenchman, who entered for the first time on June 3, 1850. While Father Fontaine, in November, took the place of Father Delmas at Dolores, Father Lestrade went to San Francisco Solano, Sonoma. Father Fontaine for the first time baptized on December 6th, and wrote the entry in Spanish. Thereafter he alternated with Father Du Monteil.[5]

It seems that some of the church goods of Dolores went to the parish church of St. Francis. At any rate, the Langlois Journal has the following entry of a letter addressed to Father Du Monteil under date of May 6, 1850: "Father Lebrun (Le Bret) will go to-morrow to visit your parish, Dolores. He will propose to you, or he will simply receive, what you think can be brought hither without prejudice to the place, and without giving offence to the faithful. An account, however, must be kept of what your goodness will allow us." No details are extant of what, if anything, was transferred.[6]

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[4] Riordan, *First Half Century,* 24.

[5] *Baptismal Register; Libro de Gobierno.*

[6] *First Half Century,* 49-50.

Since the death, on April 30, 1846, of the Right Rev. Francisco García Diego, O. F. M., California was without a Bishop. The Very Rev. Fr. José Maria González Rúbio, O. F. M., governed the diocese, with great zeal and wisdom, but he could not perform all the ecclesiastical functions required of a Bishop. Moreover, Fr. González Rúbio could not speak the English language which was rapidly supplanting the Spanish idiom. The new prelate would have to be proficient in both. Rome at length discovered a capable bearer of the miter in the person of the Very Rev. Fr. José Sadoc Alemany, O. P., who, as provincial, represented the American Dominicans at the General Chapter of the Order just then assembled in the Eternal City. What happened is related in a personal letter to the Rev. Peter Anderson, O. P., then stationed at Sacramento. It reads as follows:

"Paris (France), August 24th, 1850.

"Rev. and dear Father Anderson:—Things have turned out so that I have been obliged to wear the heavy miter put off by Father Montgomery.[7] The Pope told me that God would help me. I trust He will. I had to be consecrated on the 30th of June last. Some slight sickness and also some affairs made me remain in Rome a little longer than I expected. I also remained in Lyons to obtain some assistance for our Missions in California. Now that the good Providence of God has given me the means of going to my mission, and of enabling others to go there, I am ready to leave for New York and Monterey, after making some arrangements in or near Dublin, by which I shall be able to obtain, now or afterwards, some good missionaries, without whom I could not organize many congregations. Pray that God may give His blessing to our Church of California and to its Pastor that needs it so much. I hope to be in New York before the end of September, but I shall probably be obliged, before leaving for California, to make a hasty trip to Ohio and leave there a few Sisters of whom some will go afterwards to help the Mission of California. The good people of Paris are giving me several chalices, ciboriums, etc. If I could spare the time, I could obtain much here, but I wish to hasten to California, as this is the wish of Rome.—I am, your brother and obedient servant, Jos. S. Alemany, O.P., Bishop of Monterey, Cal."[8]

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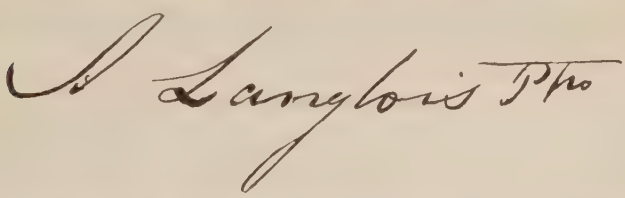
[7] Rev. Charles Montgomery, O.P., of Somerset, Ohio, who had been named for the place, had declined.

[8] *First Half Century*, 34.

As the signature shows, Upper California had been detached from Lower California, and the episcopal seat was now Monterey. Fr. González Rúbio was proposed to the Holy Father as Bishop of Lower California by the Mexican Government, but the good Father declined the honor, and the Holy See, mindful that the Mexican Government had failed to provide for the maintenance of the first Bishop of California notwithstanding solemn promises, declined to name a Bishop or vicar-apostolic for poor Lower California. Bishop Alemany, therefore, retained jurisdiction for a while longer.

Bishop Alemany, accompanied by the Rev. Fr. Francisco Sadoc Vilarrasa, O. P., and by Mother Mary Goemaere, who was to start a school at Monterey and prepare a habitation for



other Dominican Sisters, crossed the Isthmus of Panamá on muleback. At the port of Panamá the little party, on November 16th, embarked in the steamer *Columbus,* and landed at San Francisco on Friday, December 6, 1850. No preparations had been made for such an event, as nobody was aware that a Bishop had been named. The letter to Father Anderson must have been delayed, or it reached him when stricken down by the cholera, which carried him off a few days previously. In his Journal Father Langlois hastily noted the arrival thus laconically: "December 6, 1850, at 11 o'clock, the Steamship *Columbus* brought us the Rt. Rev. Joseph Alemany, Bishop of Monterey and California, with the Rev. Sadoc Villarrasa, O. P."[9]

Not having been able to welcome their Bishop as he stepped ashore, the people made up for it by arranging a public recep-

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[9] *First Half Century,* 35.

tion. The *Daily Alta California,* voicing the sentiments of the inhabitants, on December 10, expressed itself as follows:

"The Catholics of this city met this afternoon at the Church of St. Francis to greet by an address and public welcome the Rev. Joseph Alemany, Bishop of California, who arrived on the *Columbus.* This divine comes among us with a very enviable fame for ability and scholarship, which we can readily believe, knowing that the Roman Catholic Church would place in so responsible and important a station none other but one in whom it had great reliance, and for a good cause. The Reverend gentleman is, we believe, of Spanish origin, but has resided a long while in the United States, and will thus be able to do and assist in doing a vast amount of good to both races. May this be the result of his residence and ministrations among us, giving and receiving happy evidences of the peaceable and glorious reign of Prince Emmanuel."

The *San Francisco Herald,* on December 11, 1850, reported as follows:

"A large meeting of the Catholic residents of San Francisco was held last evening in the school room of the Catholic Church on Vallejo Street, for the purpose of tendering a suitable welcome to Dr. Alemany, the Bishop of California, recently arrived in our midst. John A. McGlynn presided, with Geo. O. Doherty as secretary. The address prepared for presentation to the Bishop was read by T. Jefferson Smith, Esq., and was adopted by the assembly as the expression of their sentiments.

"Captain Dennis McCarthy announced that the sum of $1,350 had been collected for donation to the Bishop, in order to enable him to vigorously prosecute the objects of his mission, and to visit the many points of the State now so greatly needing his presence and ministration. Messrs. J. W. White, Miles D. Sweeny, and Dr. P. O'Brien were selected to present the address to Dr. Alemany, which duty was performed, and they returned, accompanied by the reverend gentleman, who eloquently and feelingly responded to the compliment paid him. On motion, the address was ordered to be published in the papers of the city, when the assembly retired."[10]

Both journals published the address in their issues of December 13, 1850, in English, Spanish, and French. It was also issued in the form of a circular of royal quarto size in the three languages together with the remarks of the Bishop in

[10] *Dominicana,* December, 1900, page 340.

English, Spanish, and French. The English address was presented by the Committee composed of John A. McGlynn, Hugh O'Donnell, P. Moffat O'Brien, M. D., Charles D. Carter, Geo. O'Doherty, Thomas Jefferson Smith, Dennis McCarthy, and R. F. Ryan, on Tuesday evening, December 10, 1850. It read as follows:

"To the Right Rev. Joseph Alemany, Bishop of California.—Right Rev. Sir: The Catholics of San Francisco, in public meeting assembled, feel bound to express our gratitude to Almighty God for the signal favor He has conferred upon us, in sending an exalted teacher to govern and instruct His Church in this part of the world. As Your spiritual children in Christ, we rejoice to meet You as our Father and Prelate, and we bid You a hearty welcome to this land.

"The distinguished position to which You had been already raised in the Church, the estimation in which You were held by the Hierarchy of the United States, who nominated You to the Holy See for our Bishop, and the reputation You have long enjoyed for those virtues and qualifications befitting an ecclesiastical dignitary, give us the most assured confidence that You are worthy of the Episcopacy, and that Your career among us will furnish an exemplification of the character described by the inspired writer: 'Behold a great priest who in his time pleased God and was found just, and in the time of wrath was made a reconciliation.'

"We feel deeply sensible of the exertions You have made to secure for us the services of a zealous and devoted Priesthood from Spain, France, Ireland, and the United States; and we are sure the whole community will participate in the pleasure it has afforded us to learn that You also have taken measures to enlist in the cause of Religion here, the Sisters of Charity—those self-sacrificing handmaids of Christ, who are everywhere found ministering angels to suffering humanity.

"Upwards of two centuries have passed away since the Standard of the Cross was first placed on this soil, since the sons of St. Ignatius, St. Francis, and St. Dominic first impressed the hearts of the Californian savage with the benign

influences of the Gospel; and we dwell with pleasure on the contemplation, that for You and Your fellow laborers, it may, in the Providence of God, be reserved to complete the good work then so zealously commenced, by diffusing not only among the aboriginal inhabitants, but the unconverted also, who have come hither of late years from the various nations of the world, a knowledge of that Faith by which alone their temporal and eternal happiness can be truly secured. No portion of this great Continent presents a more inviting or more interesting field for the Missionary of the Gospel than California. Every bay and river, every mountain and valley, throughout the length and breadth of this beautiful land is, in the name it bears, a silent but unimpeachable witness of the efforts of Your predecessors in extending the Kingdom of Christ. And although the civil government, which formerly ruled here, has of late years been supplanted by another, the spiritual government of our Holy Mother, the Church, the Spouse of Christ, continues unchanged and unchangeable; and Your presence here, this day, is a proof that she is still as solicitous to secure the eternal welfare of her children as she has been centuries ago, when she sent her missionaries to preach the same glad tidings of Redemption on the shores of the Pacific.

"On the part of our separated brethren in this city, who are American citizens, we also venture, Right Reverend Sir, to welcome You. Your lengthened residence in the United States, Your attachment and reverence for our Constitution and laws, and Your having long adopted our country as Your home, will give You, we feel assured, a pre-eminent claim on their confidence and esteem.

"As to our fellow citizens, who are natives of the soil, and who are Your kindred in language, Religion, and blood, we are confident we but faintly express the rapture with which they hail Your arrival when on their part also we bid You a cordial welcome.

"In conclusion, Right Reverend Sir, we all unite in tendering to You our warmest congratulations on this auspicious and

eventful occasion; and we earnestly pray Almighty God to bestow upon You His choicest blessings; 'to fill You with the spirit of wisdom and understanding,' and to preserve You among us to carry on the work of the ministry for His glory and the salvation of souls."[11]

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[11] Copy in the Santa Barbara Archives.

CHAPTER XXIX

Bishop Alemany's Movements.—At Santa Barbara.—At Monterey.—First Pastoral.—First Diocesan Synod.—Resolutions.—Appoints Vicars-General.—At the First Plenary Council, Baltimore.—In the City of Mexico.—Pious Fund.—Mexico Must Pay Interest in Perpetuity.—Lower California Detached.—Claims Before the Land Commission.—Its Decision.—U. S. Patent to Church Property.—A Great Wrong Righted.

THE movements of Bishop Alemany, immediately after the public reception, were recorded by himself in a personal journal.[1] We herewith reproduce the entries as made, and this will set at rest the doubts expressed by various writers.

"December 14, (1850.) I leave for Santa Barbara to show my Bulls to the Vicar Capitular[2] and take possession of the diocese. The steamer would not touch at Santa Barbara, but left me and companion, Rev. Anthony Delmas, at San Pedro for Los Angeles.[3]

"December 25th. Arrive at Santa Barbara in time to celebrate Holy Mass. I show my Bulls to the Vicar Capitular, who, with Father José Jimeno and Father Francisco Sanchez, recognizes the genuineness, and acknowledges me as the long-expected Bishop of Monterey, and as such I take possession of the Diocese of Monterey, formerly called the Diocese of both Californias, and I preach to the assembled people at the Old Mission.

"On the following days the Old Franciscan Missionaries explain to me that the tracts of the Mission lands were, as they believed, the real property of the Indians, who cultivated the

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[1] Added to the *Libro Borrador* now in the *Archbishop's Archives.*

[2] Fr. Gonzáles Rúbio had been elected Vicar Capitular or Administractor by the Archiepiscopal Chapter of Mexico. Hence the title.

[3] The Bishop probably went to Los Angeles. On his way north he left Father Delmas at Mission San Buenaventura.

same under their direction, and more especially under their alcaldes, or chief Indian officers, elected by the Indians themselves, and acting under the direction of the Fathers, but that the church, church edifices, stores, cemeteries, orchards, and vineyards with aqueducts should be considered the property of the Church.

"January 2, 1851. Father Gonzalez hands me the documents of the archives of the diocese, including important papers, history, correspondences, etc., on the Pious Fund, all the Pontificals and Articles belonging to my predecessor, with some pieces of gold, the alms and offerings of past years belonging to the diocese. Continuing for several days, he gave me much explanation of the state of the diocese, the difficulty of Bishop Garcia Diego in obtaining a place as residence, and the nonfulfillment on the part of Mexico of providing for him as promised.

"February 4th. I establish myself at Monterey, receiving board and lodging from the kind hospitality of the Gonzalez family and of Don Manuel Jimeno and others.

"May (no date given). I consult with Gov. Peter H. Burnett[4] on the prosecution of my claim to Mission property.

"June (no date). I have several consultations with lawyers Butts and Emmett on the way to claim such Mission property.

"June (no date). I consult Judge Pacificus Ord of Monterey on the same."

There are no other entries for the remainder of the year; but from the *Libro de Gobierno,* in possession of the Bishop of Los Angeles and San Diego, we learn that on January 24, 1851, apparently while still at Santa Barbara, His Lordship appointed Fr. José Maria González Rúbio, O. F. M., his vicar-general for the southern part of California which extended from the southern boundary to Mission San Miguel inclusive. For the northern portion of the diocese the Bishop named the Rev. Anthony Langlois of San Francisco vicar-general under date of March 5, 1851.

[4] Monterey was the capital of the State at the time.

Here at Santa Barbara also, Bishop Alemany wrote his first Pastoral and signed it on the Octave of the Epiphany, January 13, 1851. It was printed in pamphlet form at San Francisco by Casserly, Callendar & Co. in 1851.[5]

"March 20, 1852. All the priests of the diocese, assembled in Diocesan Synod, concur with me in urging the United States Land Commission to confirm to me the Mission property."

Strange to say, this little entry is the only direct and authentic evidence in the Archives of the Archdiocese that a Diocesan Synod was held at San Francisco as early as 1852. It was the first Ecclesiastical Synod in the history of both Californias.

In accordance with the resolution of the clergy, Bishop Alemany brought suit for the recovery of the Mission property (insofar as it was regarded as Church property under Spanish as well as Mexican laws) which the last governor under Mexican rule, Pio Pico, had inventoried and then sold over the heads of the missionaries, contrary to the prohibition of the Mexican Government.

In this litigation—Land Case No. 609, José Sadoc Alemany *versus* The United States—various witnesses, priests and laymen, were summoned to testify. Two of the priests, Fr. Commissary-Prefect José Joaquin Jimeno, O. F. M., and Fr. Francisco Sanchez, O. F. M., both of Santa Barbara, in their depositions speak also in detail of the Synod of San Francisco. Fr. Jimeno, on April 20, 1854, testified as follows: "I was present at the Conference of the Catholic Clergy of California in 1852, which assembled on March 19th at San Francisco. There were present about twenty-two priests representing all the Missions and churches of Upper California. A resolution was adopted which requested and empowered the Bishop to apply to the Government for the Church lands throughout the State."

On the same day Fr. Francisco Sanchez corroborated Fr. Jimeno's testimony, and quoted one of the Decrees, which but

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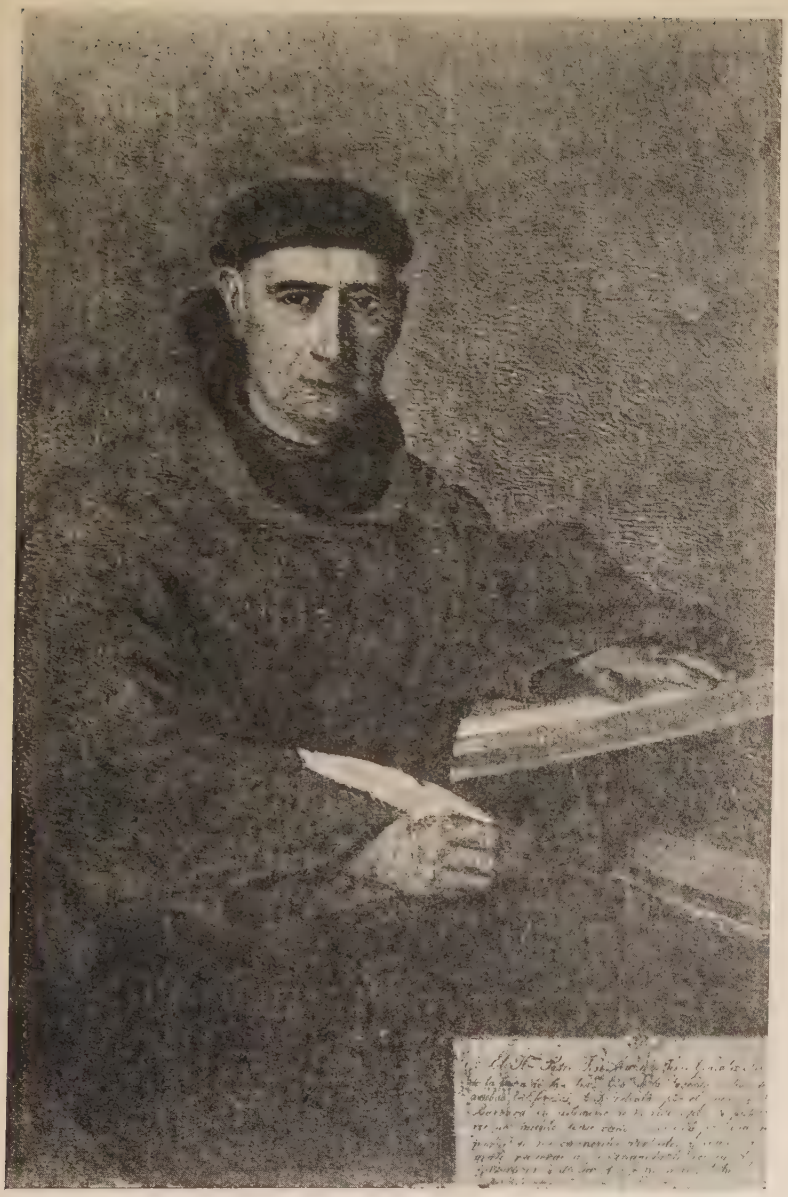
[5] Copy in *Santa Barbara Archives.*



VERY REV. JOSÉ MARIA GONZALEZ RUBIO, O. F. M.

for him would have remained unknown, because it was not placed among the Decrees sent to Rome for approval. "The Conference of the Catholic Clergy of this Diocese," Fr. Sanchez testified, "in 1852 adopted a resolution to claim from the U. S. Government the churches, sacristies, adjoining buildings, cemeteries, gardens, orchards, and vineyards, as the property of the Church, and one section of land at each Mission for the Church, and one league of land at each Mission for the care of the Indians."

Hence we know that the First Diocesan Synod was opened at San Francisco on the Feast of St. Joseph, Friday, March 19th, and closed on Tuesday, March 23, 1852. The sessions were doubtless held in the little frame church of St. Francis on Vallejo Street. Other details are not extant.[6]

Before setting out for the East to urge his claims to the Mission property and to participate in the First Plenary Council of the Bishops of the United States, which was to convene at Baltimore on May 9, 1852, His Lordship wisely provided for any emergency. On April 1st he appointed Fr. José Maria González Rúbio his vicar-general for the whole State of California and Administrator of the Diocese. In case Fr. Rúbio should pass away or become incapacitated, the Rev. Eugene O'Connell was to succeed to the office of vicar-general and administrator.[7] On the same date or soon after, though the entry in the *Libro de Gobierno* has the impossible date of May 9, the Bishop named the Rev. J. F. Llebaria vicar-general for the northern part of the diocese in place of the Rev. Anthony Langlois, who had resigned in order to join the Dominicans as their first novice. Father Llebaria, however, was to act in accord with Fr. González Rúbio and subject to him.[8]

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[6] *The Missions,* iv, 692-693; *The Catholic Historical Review,* Washington, D. C., vol. i, pp. 30-37.

[7] Document in *Santa Barbara Archives,* countersigned by the Rev. Anthony Delmas, as pro-secretary.

[8] *Libro de Gobierno.*

Bishop Alemany prosecuted his claims unceasingly and energetically, even going to the City of Mexico, as the following entries in the oft-named Journal demonstrate.

"May 25th. Judge Taney, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Washington (on being questioned) said we should present our claims to the Mission property before the U. S. Land Commission in California, which was empowered by Congress to determine all land claims in California.[9]

"July. I demanded in the City of Mexico of that Government that satisfaction be made to our Church in California; that as successor to Bishop Garcia Diego I justly demanded for my Missions and for my Church what Mexico owed form the Pious Fund[10] to my Diocese, and that they should cease also to oppose my administration in Lower California.

"During July and August I continued to demand of the Mexican Government the above, and after many delays they notified me that they could not accede to my demands. I then quitted the Capital."

Ere long, however, the Mexican Government had to learn that the confiscation of the Pious Fund established in Mexico for the benefit of the California Missions was nothing less than robbery, and that so long as it retained the capital the Mexican Government could not be relieved of the obligation, which it freely acknowledged in the decree of confiscation on October 24, 1842, of paying to the claimants six per cent interest annually from that date on.

The English arbitrator, Sir Edward Thornton, chosen by the mixed Mexican and United States Commission, on November 11, 1875, awarded to the claimants (the Bishops of California) the sum of $904,700.99 "being twenty-one years' interest at the rate of $43,050.99 per year." The Tribunal of Arbitration at The Hague (Holland), on October 14, 1902, confirmed the award, and decided that the Mexican Government must pay the sum of $1,420,682.67 Mexican.

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[9] This Commission was created by Congress on March 3, 1851.

[10] *The Missions and Missionaries,* vol. 1, 131-133, 456-459, 593-599.

"This sum of $1,420,682.67 will totally extinguish the annuities accrued and not paid by the Government of the Mexican Republic—that is to say, the annuity of $43,050.99 Mexican, from February 2, 1869, to February 2, 1902." Furthermore, "the Government of the Republic of the United Mexican States shall pay to the Government of the United States of America[11] on February 2, 1903, *and each following year on the same date of February* and, *perpetually,* the annuity of $43,050.99 Mexican, in money having currency in Mexico."[12]

"At the close of the year 1852," Bishop Alemany writes in the Journal, "I demanded and obtained from the Holy See that Lower California be separated from my Diocese." His Lordship wrote from memory, wherefore the dates of entry are often incorrect. According to the *Libro de Gobierno,* Bishop Alemany received the Papal Decree, which detached the Diocese of Monterey from the Metropolitan Province of Mexico, and placed it temporarily (*provisorie*) directly under the Holy See, and which Decree was dated December 21, 1851, nearly a year later, on November 28, 1852. He was back at San Francisco probably about the middle of the month, for on Friday, November 26th, in the church of St. Francis, His Lordship elevated to the priesthood the deacon, John Quinn. It was the first ordination in the history of San Francisco.[13]

Soon after his arrival the good Bishop presented his claim before the U. S. Land Commission, but the case was not decided until three years later. Many expert witnesses had to be examined, even Fr. José J. Jimeno and Fr. Francisco Sanchez of Santa Barbara, as we have seen, were summoned to San Francisco in the spring of 1854, and the laws of the Catholic Church as well as the Spanish laws and customs on the subject had to be studied before the American Commissioners were convinced that the claim for the Mission property, in so far as it was the property of the Church according

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[11] As the representative of the California Bishops.

[12] See *The Missions* ut supra, note 10.

[13] *Libro de Gobierno.*

to Spanish and Mexican laws, was just. We can easily imagine with what relief and satisfaction the patient claimant made the following entry in the *Libro Borrador*. "1855. Dec. 18. Lands of the Catholic Church as petitioned for, or presented for confirmation to the U. S. Land Commissioners, confirmed to me by said Land Commission. Opinions of the Board delivered by Commissioner Alpheus Felch."[14]

The extent of the lands varied at all the Missions. The lands conceded to be the property of Mission Dolores are described in the subjoined Patent signed by President James Buchanan on March 3, 1858:

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To All To Whom These Presents Shall Come Greetings!

Whereas, it appears from a duly authenticated transcript, filed in the General Land Office of the United States, that, pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress approved the third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, entitled "An Act to ascertain and settle the private land claims in the State of California," Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Monterey, in the State of California, as claimant, filed this petition on the nineteenth day of February, 1853, with the Commissioners to ascertain and settle private Land Claims in the State of California, sitting as a Board in the City of San Francisco, in which petition he claimed the confirmation to him and his successors of the title to certain Church property in California, "to be held by him and them in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated," said property consisting of "church edifices, houses for the use of the clergy and those employed in the services of the Church, church yards, burial grounds, gardens, orchards and vineyards, with the necessary buildings thereon and appurtenances," the same having been recognized as the property of said Church by the laws of Mexico, in force at the time of the cession of California to the United States; and whereas

[14] See for the whole proceedings *The Missions,* iv, 723-771.

the Board of Land Commissioners aforesaid, on the eighteenth day of December, 1855, rendered a decree of confirmation in favor of the Petitioner for certain lands described therein, to be held "in the same capacity and for the uses set forth in this petition,"[15] the lands of MISSION DOLORES, being described in said decree as follows: "The Church and the buildings adjoining it, being the same which are known as the Church and Mission buildings of the Mission of San Francisco, County of San Francisco, commonly called the *Mission Dolores,* together with the land on which the same are erected and the curtilage and appurtenances thereto belonging, and the cemetery adjoining according to its ancient limits and boundaries; also the premises known as the Mission Garden lying in the rear of said Church, adjoining the same and the cemetery above mentioned, with the ancient limits and boundaries of the same as used and occupied by the Priests of said Mission, and also another Garden of said Mission situated in front of said church and on the opposite side of the street, with the ancient limits and boundaries of the same as long used and occupied by the said Priests, reference description of these last mentioned parcels of land to be had to the map numbered 19 in the Atlas before mentioned where the same is delineated, each parcel being designated by the word "Garden":

And whereas it further appears from a certified transcript filed in the General Land Office that an appeal from said decree or decision of the Commissioners having been taken on behalf of the United States in the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California, and the Attorney General of the United States having given notice that the appeal would not be prosecuted in this case, the said District Court, on the sixteenth day of March, 1857, at the stated term, "ordered, and adjudged and decreed that the claimant have leave to proceed under the Decree of the United States Land Commission heretofore rendered in his favor as under final decree;"

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[15] Here follows the description of the lands of Santa Clara which were singularly enough granted together with those of Dolores.

And whereas, under the thirteenth section of the said Act of the third of March, 1851, there have been presented to the Commissioner of the General Land Office certificate and plats of the survey of the tracts of land confirmed as aforesaid, authenticated on the fourth day of April, 1857, by the signature of the Surveyor General of the Public Lands in California, which certificate and plats are in the words and figures following, to-wit:

"United States Surveyor General's Office,
San Francisco, California

"Under and by virtue of the provisions of the 13th Section of the Act of Congress of the 3rd of March, 1851, entitled An Act to ascertain and settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California,' and of the 12th Section of the Act of Congress approved on the 31st of August, 1852, entitled 'An Act making appropriations for the Civil and Diplomatic expenses of the Government for the year ending the 30th of June, 1853, and for other purposes,' and in consequence of the decrees of the United States District Court for the Northern District of California of which a copy is herewith annexed, having been filed in this Office, whereby it appears that the Attorney General of the United States having given notice that no appeal will be further prosecuted in the Case of the United States Appellants vs. Joseph Sadoc Alemany, numbered 425 on the Court docket, at the stated term thereof held on the 16th day of March, 1857, on motion of the District Attorney it was 'ordered adjudged and decreed that the Claimant shall have leave to proceed under the Decree of the United States Land Commission heretofore rendered in his favor as under final decree.'

"And whereas, by the Decree of the Land Commission thus referred to, and of which extracts are also hereunto annexed, the claim of the said Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, etc., No. 609 on the docket of the Land Commissioners to the tracts therein mentioned at the Ex-Mission of San Francisco, commonly called the Mission Dolores in San Fran-

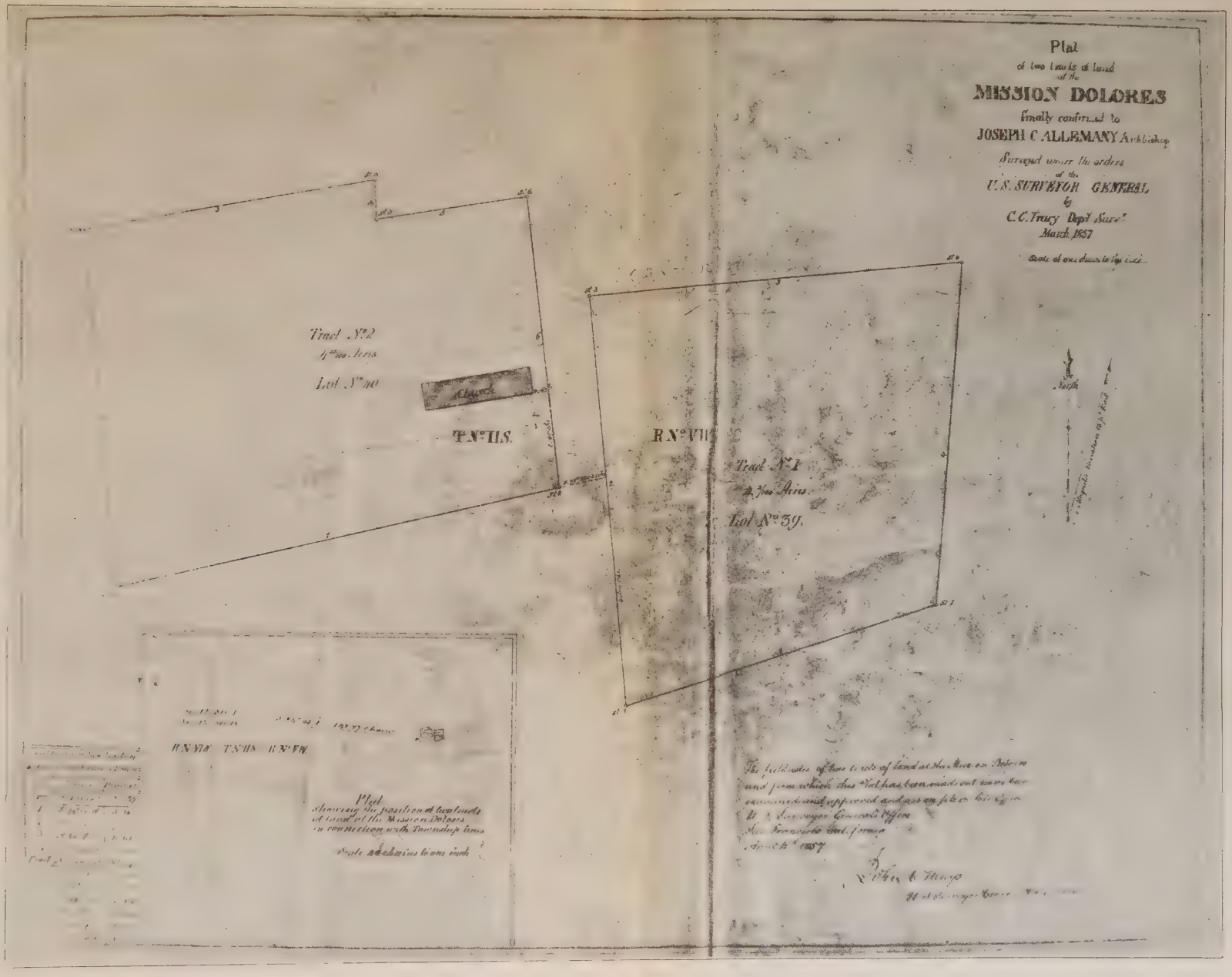
cisco County, California, was recognized and confirmed, I have caused the said tracts of land to be surveyed, as appears by the field notes of the Surveys thereof made by C. C. Tracy, Deputy Surveyor, in the month of March, 1857, under the direction of this Office, which having been examined and approved are now on file in this Office; and I do further certify that, under and by virtue of the said confirmation and surveys, the said Joseph Sadoc Alemany, Bishop, etc., is entitled to a Patent from the United States upon the presentation hereof to the General Land Office, for the said tracts of land, the same being bounded and described as follows, to-wit:"

Here follow the minute survey and description of "the Old Garden or Orchard on the east side of Dolores Street opposite the Mission Church 'containing four acres and three hundredths of an acre, being the tract embracing the 'Garden' in front of the Mission Church and on the opposite side of the street, at the Mission of San Francisco, commonly called the Mission Dolores, etc."

Then follow the minute survey and description of the tract "Containing four acres and fifty-one hundredths of an acre, embracing the Church and Mission buildings of the Mission of San Francisco, commonly called the Mission Dolores, and the 'Cemetery' and 'Garden' adjoining the same, etc."

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto signed my name and affixed my Official Seal at the City of San Francisco, California, this 4th day of April, A. D., 1857.—John C. Hays, United States Surveyor General.

"NOW KNOW YE That the United States of America, in consideration of the premises and pursuant to the provisions of the Act of Congress aforesaid of the 3rd of March, 1851, HAVE GIVEN AND GRANTED, and by these presents DO GIVE AND GRANT, unto the said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, and to his successors, 'in trust for the religious purposes and uses to which the same have been respectively appropriated,' the tracts of land embraced and described in the foregoing surveys, but with the stipulation, that in virtue of the 15th Section of the said


Plat
of two tracts of land
of the
MISSION DOLORES
finally confirmed to
JOSEPH C ALLEMANY Archbishop
Surveyed under the orders
of the
U.S. SURVEYOR GENERAL
by
C.C. Tracy Dep.y Surv.r
March 1857
Tract N.o 2
4.00 acres
Lot N.o 40
Church
T.N.o IIS.
R.N.o VII
Tract N.o 1
4.00 acres
Lot N.o 39.
Plat
showing the position of two tracts
of land of the Mission Dolores
in connection with Township lines
T.N.o IIS. R.N.o VII

Act, the confirmation of this claim, and its Patent 'shall not afflict the interest of third persons,' To Have and To Hold the said tracts of land with the appurtenances, and with the stipulation aforesaid, unto said Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, and to his successors, in trust, for the religious purposes and uses as aforesaid.

"In testimony whereof, I, James Buchanan, President of the United States of America, have caused these letters to be made Patent, and the Seal of the General Land Office to be hereunton affixed.

"Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, this third day of March, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-Eight, and of the Independence of the United States the Eighty-Second.

[SEAL] By the President,

James Buchanan

By Wm. Flinn, Assistant Secretary."

J. N. Granger, Recorder of the General Land Office.

Recorded Vol. 1, Pages 305 to 314 inclusive.

Thus after twelve years of American rule, and due to the exertions of Archbishop Alemany, a great wrong was partially righted. The property of the Catholic Church, at least, the sacred character of which the Mission despoilers, like their irreligious models in Mexico, had disregarded and then sold over the heads of the missionaries, who had established it, was restored. The property of the Indians, however, had been irretrievably squandered and the Indians had disappeared. The act of the United States Government in the case of the lands of the Church, etc., shows that, if the United States flag had been raised but fifteen years earlier, the remnant of neophytes also would have retained their own because the Missions would have been saved from the rapacity of unbridled greed; and the Indians would have been protected in the homes established by them, like the Indians in the Reservations elsewhere, instead of becoming homeless wanderers.

CHAPTER XXX

The Road to Mission Dolores.—The Church.—How It Impressed a Visitor. — The City's Resort. — Historical Inaccuracies. — First Orphanage in California.—St. Patrick's Parish Founded.—Sisters of Charity Take Charge of the Orphans.—Sisters of St. Dominic and of Notre Dame Arrive.—Rev. Eugene O'Connell at Mission Dolores.—First German Priest.—Father Fontaine's School at the Mission.—He Establishes a Boarding School Elsewhere and Fails.—The Jesuit Fathers Assume the Burden.—How They Fared.—The School Closed.—The Diocesan Seminary.—Rt. Rev. Eugene O'Connell, Bishop.

"THE Mission, which is situated two and quarter miles from the plaza," the *Annals of San Francisco* relate, was a place of common resort for the citizens, but the road to it being sandy was difficult to travel, especially for vehicles. Owing to this cause, the cost of carriage was very great. A load of hay, for instance, moved from the Mission to the city, cost as much as fifteen or twenty dollars. The same way likewise led to San José, the capital of the State. In the summer of this year (1850), Colonel Charles L. Wilson conceived the plan of laying a plank-road from Kearny Street to the Mission, and presented a proposition to that effect to the Common Council. He offered to build the road, which at that time was considered a tremendous enterprise in consequence of the high price of lumber and labor, on condition that he was allowed to collect certain rates of toll from those using it, and that he should have the exclusive right of the way for the term of ten years, at the expiration of which the entire improvements were to revert to the city. On November 18th (1850) an ordinance regarding the plank-road to the Mission Dolores passed the Board of Aldermen by a constitutional majority, notwithstanding certain objections of the mayor and his consequent veto, but not until it was so modified that seven years only were allowed the projector for the use of the road, and but five months granted him for completion of the work. A

half interest in the undertaking was sold, and funds were thus obtained for carrying it on. Upon the very last day allowed under the ordinance for completion of the work, loaded wagons passed on the road from the Mission to the town."[1]

Speaking of the Mission three years later, the *Annals of San Francisco* tell us: "At the present time (November, 1853), the chief thing worthy of notice about the place is the old church. This is constructed of *adobes*, and is a spacious building. The exterior is partially whitewashed and is very plain in appearance, although the front pretends to some old-fashioned architectural decorations, and shows several handsome bells. The walls and roofs are roughly painted, and upon the former are several common paintings of saints and sacred subjects. Public worship is still regularly celebrated in this huge and gloomy temple. The usual audiences[2] are a few women, whose features and dress proclaim their Spanish origin. If any of the fast-thinking, doing and living people of San Francisco could be induced to 'pause and moralize a while,' there is no spot so fitted to encourage the unwonted mood as the dismal, silent and deserted interior of the Mission Church. There is an awe and apparent holiness about this place which the casual heretical visitor cares not to disturb, as he perhaps humbly kneels on the damp, earthen floor, and worships in secret his own God. A walk around the small graveyard attached to the church will only deepen his meditation as he gazes on the tombs of the departed pioneers and gold-hunters, and reflects upon the glory of the ancient patriarchal times of tame Indians and their ghostly keepers.

"The Mission has always been a favorite place of amusement to the citzens of San Francisco. Here, in the early days of the city, exhibitions of bull and bear fights frequently took place, which attracted great crowds; and here, also, were

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[1] *Annals of San Francisco*, pp. 296-298. In 1851 Bishop Alemany reported the population about Mission Dolores to consist of only one hundred and fifty persons.

[2] on weekdays, doubtless.

numerous duels fought, which drew nearly as many idlers to view them. At present (1854), there are two race-courses in the neighborhood, and a large number of drinking-houses. Two plank-roads lead hither from the city, upon both of which omnibuses run every half hour. The Mission lies within the municipal bounds and probably will soon be united with the city by a connected line of buildings. The highway to San José, and farther south, runs through the village, while around it are green hills and fertile fields and hotels and places of public recreation. These things all make the old home of the Fathers a place of considerable importance to our health and pleasure seekers. On fine days, especially on Sundays, the roads to the Mission show a continual succession, passing to and fro, of all manner of equestrians and pedestrians, and elegant open carriages filled with ladies and holiday folk."[3]

"In October, 1850," Father W. Gleeson relates,[4] "the cholera for the first time appeared in San Francisco. . . . Its ravages, though not the most widespread, were sufficient to cause considerable alarm. The average number of deaths from its effects during the three months of October, November, and December, may be reasonably estimated at between four and five hundred. As there were then only two priests in the city, the Very Rev. James Croke and the Very Rev. F. Langlois, they had for days to be continually at their post administering the Last Sacraments to the sufferers."[4]

Father Gleeson was misinformed, for we can find no warrant with any historical writer that such an epidemic prevailed at San Francisco in 1850, much less for the statement that from four to five hundred died every month. So many deaths would have caused a panic of which there is no trace. Furthermore, Father Croke did not come from Portland, Oregon, where he was stationed since about 1851, until 1857. Father Francis Coyle, who had received the faculties in November, 1849, but

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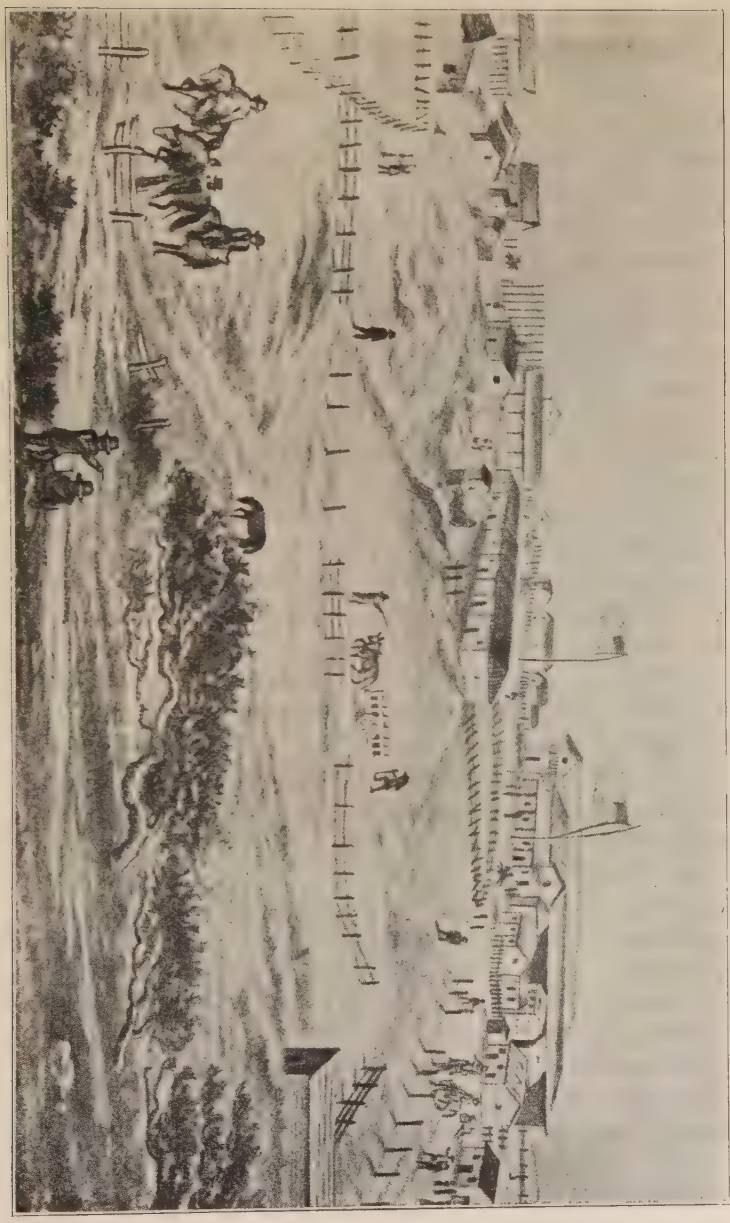
[3] *Annal of San Francisco,* 469-471.

[4] *History of the Catholic Church in California,* p. 203.



SURROUNDINGS OF MISSION DOLORES ABOUT 1850

who was dismissed from the diocese in June, 1851, was the assistant at San Francisco.

Nevertheless, at the end of 1850, whatever the cause, a considerable number of destitute orphans had been left on the hands of the community, and this caused the erection in 1851 of two orphan asylums, one for the Catholic and the other for the non-Catholic children. Early in the year a society was established under the title of *The Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum and Free School Association of San Francisco,* which was to secure and furnish the means for maintaining the institution in charge of some Sisterhood. The first president of the society, elected on March 23, 1851, was Mr. John A. McGlynn. Three months later Messrs. John Sullivan, Timothy Murphy, and Jasper O'Farrell donated to the Bishop, for the use of a Catholic orphanage or other religious purposes, one-half of a one-hundred-yard lot situated on Market Street. A little wooden building was immediately erected on the lot donated, and answered for some time the purposes of a school. The orphanage for non-Catholic children was built about the same time on the corner of Second and Folsom streets.

On Pentecost Sunday, June 8, 1851, and in the same locality, which was then known as Happy Valley, the Rev. John Maginnis organized the second parish in the city. For three months thereafter he celebrated divine service every Sunday in the house rented for that purpose on the corner of Third and Jessie streets. Meanwhile he built a chapel which fronted on Market Street between Second and Third streets. This was blessed and opened for divine worship on the first Sunday in September, the eve of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and placed under the patronage of St. Patrick. The congregation increased so rapidly that ere long a church of brick was erected on Mission Street.[5]

While attending the Plenary Council at Baltimore in 1852, Bishop Alemany succeeded in persuading the Sisters of Charity (Vincentians) of Emmitsburg, Md., to take charge of the

[5] Gleeson, *Catholic Church,* ii, 205-208; *The Annals,* 697.

orphanage at San Francisco. Seven volunteer Sisters accordingly started out for their destination on June 17, 1852. While crossing the Isthmus of Panamá two of this devoted band of pioneers, Sisters Ignatia Green and Honorine, died from the deadly fever prevailing there at the time. The survivors, Sisters Frances McEnnis, Fidelis Buckley, Sebastian Doyle, Berenice Williams, and Corsina McKay, reached San Francisco on Wednesday, August 18, 1852. After a short period their accommodations proved too limited, wherefore with the aid of the clergy and laity a brick structure was erected adjoining St. Patrick's Church. Thus it was that the Sisters of Charity became the first resident Sisterhood of San Francisco, although they were not the first to arrive at this port.[6]

About the beginning of July, 1851, four Sisters of Notre Dame and two Dominican Sisters, accompanied from Cincinnati, Ohio, by the Rev. Eugene O'Connell, arrived at San Francisco by way of Panamá. The former intended to continue the voyage to their convent in Oregon; but Bishop Alemany persuaded them to remain in California, and to establish a convent at San José.[7] The Dominican Sisters were expected to join Mother Goemaere at Monterey.

"At San Francisco," writes a Dominican Sister, "the accommodations were so poor that the Sisters had to sleep on the floor. Mother Louise often said that it was a night she could never forget, as she spent it in keeping the rats from walking over her face. Sister Frances, however, knowing that her companion was watching, stole a few hours' sleep in spite of the intruding rodents." This incident corroborates the description of the superabundance of rats, as related in word and picture by the *Annals of San Francisco*.[8]

Father O'Connell was destined for the diocesan seminary which Bishop Garcia Diego had established at Mission Santa

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[6] Gleeson, ii, 208; *Catholic Directory: The Missions,* iv, 697.

[7] *The Missions,* ut supra.

[8] *Dominicana,* vol. i, 343; *The Missions,* iv, 688-689; *The Annals of San Francisco,* New York and San Francisco, 1855.

Inés.[9] He remained there till November, 1852, when Bishop Alemany recalled him to San Fancisco and made him pastor of the English-speaking people of the city. The Rev. Hugh Gallagher of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, became his assistant. At the same time, the Rev. Florian Schweninger, O. S. B., of New York, was named pastor for the Germans of San Francisco.[10] Father O'Connell served in his position till September, 1853, when he was transferred to Mission Dolores, which the Picpus Fathers had surrendered to the Bishop. This change leads us to resume the narrative on the Old Mission. Happily we discover some interesting details in Father Riordan's *Half Century.*

"Father Fontaine (the last of the Picpus Religious) was a tall man with black hair," writes Father Riordan, "of commanding figure and handsome face. He spoke English fluently and with a good accent, as we have been told by Mr. Robert Dorland who, as a child of ten, attended Father Flavian's first school. This school was in an adobe building to the north of the Mission Church, and separated from it by a line of houses.

"There was Mrs. Liddell's saloon, or rather tavern, a place well kept and quite respectable; there was Sharp and Moulton's store of general merchandise; then an opening unto the inner court of the Mission; next Lynch and De Horne, general merchants; next a roadway about twelve feet wide; then Ruffino's store, Charley Brown's residence, and northmost of all, the Boys' School of Father Flavian. This contained three rooms with as many teachers, though the pupils do not seem to have much exceeded twenty.

"When classes were started, it is impossible to say; but we know that they were in existence in the early months of 1852.

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[9] *Libro de Gobierno; The Missions,* iv, 690.

[10] *Libro de Gobierno.* According to the *Annals of San Francisco,* 488, the population of the city in 1853 comprised 32,000 Americans, Irish, and British, 5,500 Germans, 5,500 French, 3,000 Mexicans, Chileans and Peruvians, 3,000 Chinese, and 1,500 mixed: in all 50,000. About 8,000 were women and 3,000 children.

This we learn from a letter to Father Nobili: 'San Francisco, April 21, 1853. John S. Nobili, S. J., President of Santa Clara College. Dear Sir: Having lost my wife and been anxious to get my boy at your good college, I send him in company with Judge Hasting's son; they have been at the school of Father Flavian Fontaine the last twelve months. . . . G. Simpton.'

"We are inclined to think that in the following receipt we can trace the institution back to the very beginning of the year (1852). 'I have received from Father Flavian Fontaine ninety dollars ($90) for the rent of my house for three months, beginning January 1st and ending April 1st of the same year.—Presentacion Miranda.'

"In 1853 Father Fontaine decided to acquire land and erect on it a brick building in which he could not only accommodate day scholars but boarders as well. He had not far to go to get into the wilderness, for sagebrush, and low chaparral, and red-berry bushes with here and there scrub oaks scattered through them, reached down to the hillsides nearly to the Mission buildings. Here was the home of the wild blackberry; and it was here that the over-sanguine Father Fontaine bought eight and one-fifth acres of land, containing about two blocks of land running along Sanchez Street and nearly back to Noe, and extending from about Thirteenth to somewhat beyond Fifteenth street.

"On July 31, 1853, at Mission Dolores, Mr. Michael Fennell, a responsible builder and contractor, in writing agreed to erect a two-story brick building for a college sixty by thirty feet. The bricks were to be supplied by Mr. Thomas Dorland from his brickyard close by at what is now 18th and Guerrero streets. Unfortunately, Father Fontaine could not raise the funds to pay for the work when it was completed, and so in despair disappeared and returned to Paris. There was never any question of Father Fontaine's honesty nor suspicion that he did not intend to pay his debts. He was a good man and a zealous priest; but he erred in his business calculations. He started

to build a college, without having carefully reckoned the cost, and unfortunately, as must inevitably happen, came to grief.

"At this stage of the proceedings Father Nobili entered into the matter; and, certainly, struggling as he was with the fearful financial difficulties that beset him at Santa Clara, he must indeed have had a heroic heart to take upon himself the burden of the Mission College.[11] On October 6th he settled with Dorland and Fennell, and so laid claim to the property; but these gentlemen were only the first on Father Flavian's list of creditors, and naturally each looked to the college for the payment of what was owed.

"We have sought," Father Riordan continues, "but sought in vain, to learn under what condititons Father Nobili opened his school, the day of opening, the number of pupils, the teachers, etc.; records are completely lacking. The beginnings were certainly humble, for the college was not a success; and we are inclined to think that Father Francis Veyret, who was sent from Santa Clara to be its president, was its only teacher. The time of opening would naturally be about the beginning of 1854. We know that Father Veyret was at Mission Dolores on January 25, 1854, for on that day we find him witnessing to the lease renewed by (Francois) Robin (of a vegetable garden); earlier than this, in connection with our present subject, we cannot trace him.

"In placing Father Veyret at the head of the institution, Father Nobili had done everything in his power to ensure success; but it was difficult of access and had little level ground around it for the games of boyhood. We must not think of the Mission Dolores of to-day, an integral part of San Francisco, and easily reached by car from any portion of the city, and vainly imagine that such was the Mission of half a century ago.[12] Market Street was stopped at Third and Kearny by barriers of sand. The traveler to the Mission had to take the stage down Third and Mission streets, then out over a road of

[11] so called, but it was not at the Mission.

[12] This was written in 1905.

planks skirting sand hill after sand hill, until tired and sore with plunge, and jolt, and bump, he reached his destination. The road to the college began about four hundred feet north of the Mission buildings, with many a turn winding its narrow way through the sand and brush.

"On October 22, 1854, Father Veyret from Mission Dolores informed Father Nobili that, as I am alone here and it is necessary for me to be frequently absent, I am forced to leave the boys all by themselves. They did not wish to help me sufficiently in the kitchen, and in keeping the house clean; and I am not in the humor to do all the cleaning by myself, to bring them wood and water, and wash the dishes, unless you order me to exercise humility a little. We had six mouths to feed, all ate like ogres; and only two paid, rarely in cash and often in promises. Now you do not wish me to run up expenses to the detriment of your interests. I send you two fine fellows. I send the others to their homes for the same reasons, and remain alone like a hermit."[13]

Thus terminated Father Fontaine's venture. The property was later on sold by the Jesuits, who in 1855 laid the foundations for a much more successful institution, the far-famed St. Ignatius College, the complete history of which was compiled by the Rev. Joseph W. Riordan, S. J., and published at San Francisco in 1905 under the title *The First Half Century of St. Ignatius Church and College.*

On September 24, 1853, Bishop Alemany, for the second time at St. Francis Church, conferred Holy Orders, when he elevated to the priesthood the two deacons Sebastian Filoteo and Pedro Bagaria. In the same month, as already stated, Father Eugene O'Connell was appointed pastor of Old Mission Dolores. He entered the first Baptism there, No. 7,356, on September 29th. For the Spanish-speaking people he would write the record in Spanish, for all others in English. *The Catholic Directory* for that year styles him "Superior of the Seminary." Father O'Connell probably began to collect stu-

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[13] *First Half Century,* 45-66, *passim.*

dents and possibly gave preliminary lessons in that year to the few boys obtained, and so had the institution in running order for the year 1854, when Bishop Alemany reported it to the *Catholic Almanac* as follows: *"St. Thomas Aquinas Diocesan Seminary.*—This institution is at the Mission Dolores, near the City of San Francisco, and has fifteen students under the care of Rev. Richard Carroll, *Superior.* The institution has, besides, fourteen students educated in the colleges of Carlow, All Hallows, and the Propaganda in Rome."

Father Eugene O'Connell returned to Ireland in order to resume his former professorship at the seminary of All Hallows, Dublin. He did not forget the spiritual needs of California, however. At any rate, we find him writing to the Rev. José Joaquin Jimeno, O. F. M., Rector of the Franciscan novitiate at Santa Barbara, that he had applications from two youths who wanted to join the Franciscans there.[14] Later on, February 3, 1861, Father O'Connell was consecrated Bishop of Flaviopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Marysville (Sacramento), California.[15]

The seminary which was begun at Mission Dolores, in 1853, continued a precarious existence till 1866, when Father Prendergast found himself alone with three students. The attendance throughout these years had ranged from six to sixteen; but there were always a greater number in European seminaries, for instance, in 1866, when the school at Dolores was closed, there were twenty young men studying in Europe for the Archdiocese of San Francisco.

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[14] *The Missions,* iv, 708; Gleeson, ii, 221.

[15] Shea, *History of the Catholic Church,* iv, 713.

CHAPTER XXXI

San Francisco an Archdiocese.—The First Archbishop.—His Letter to Fr. González Rúbio.—Cornerstone Laid for St. Mary's Cathedral.—Sisters Enlisted in Ireland.—The Presentation Sisters Arrive.—The Sisters of Mercy Attacked and Defended.—Silly Bigotry.—Second Ecclesiastical Synod.—The Decrees.—Know-Nothing Times.—The Hibernians Parade.—List of Franciscan and Other Priests in the History of Mission Dolores.

THE latter part of the year 1853 had a great surprise for the zealous Bishop of California. His Lordship communicated the news to his old friend and vicar-general, Fr. González Rúbio of Sana Barbara, under date of October 18th as follows: "My Esteemed Brother: Nothing more is now wanting to conclude my career than the ceremonies for the *Burial of a Bishop;* for yesterday I received the documents. One is a Bull from the Pope by which San Francisco is made a Metropolitan See; the other is another Bull by which I am separated and removed from the See or Diocese of Monterey and transferred to that of San Francisco; finally a Brief by which I am authorized to exercise, before receiving the Pallium,[1] the functions which without said Brief I could not have exercised before receiving the Pallium. *Fiat voluntas Dei!* I should much rather have preferred the smaller burden of Monterey, but there has been no option. I am glad that the work has been divided and that thus the Diocese of Monterey will receive better care. On another occasion I shall transmit to you a copy of the Bulls.[2] By the first you will see that the boundary of that of San Francisco is the southern parallel of the parish or congregation of

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[1] A circular band of white wool, about two inches wide, with pendants and ornamented with six crosses, worn over the chasuble by Archbishops when pontificating on specified occasions.

[2] A copy of each Bull, dated Rome, July 29, 1853, and certified by Archbishop Alemany with his seal on October 19, 1853, is preserved in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

the pueblo of San José. Over the country south of this I have no longer any jurisdiction. The new Bishop of Montery is the Rt. Rev. Thaddeus Amat of Barcelona, a Father of the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul, a man, I am assured, very distinguished for his humility and learning. As soon as he heard of his appointment he withdrew from Philadelphia[3] to Spain, and thereafter he passed on to France for the purpose of taking passage to Chile, and so to hide himself. The Propaganda is trying to forward the Bulls to him. It is to be feared that he will decline, and thus there will be another delay of some additional months. By all means I supplicate you, Father González, that you do not abandon the Diocese of Monterey . . . Your affectionate Brother and Servant, Fr. José Sadoc, Bishop, etc."[4]

Lest the Diocese of Monterey be without a head until the new Bishop could take possession, the Holy See on September 12, 1853, appointed Archbishop Alemany its administrator. His Grace received the documents on November 16th. Three days later he appointed Fr. González Rúbio his vicar-general with full authority to govern the diocese until the installation of Bishop Amat, which took place at Monterey on November 26, 1855.[5]

Earlier in the year, Sunday, July 17, 1853, Bishop Alemany, assisted by a large number of priests, laid the cornerstone for the third church in what was then San Francisco. On the foundations was built St. Mary's Church, which the new Archbishop chose for his cathedral. The solemn dedication took place on Christmas Day, December 25, 1854.[6]

Early in 1854, Archbishop Alemany despatched the Rev. Hugh Gallagher to Rome for the Pallium with instructions to enlist more Sisters in Ireland. On his way back from

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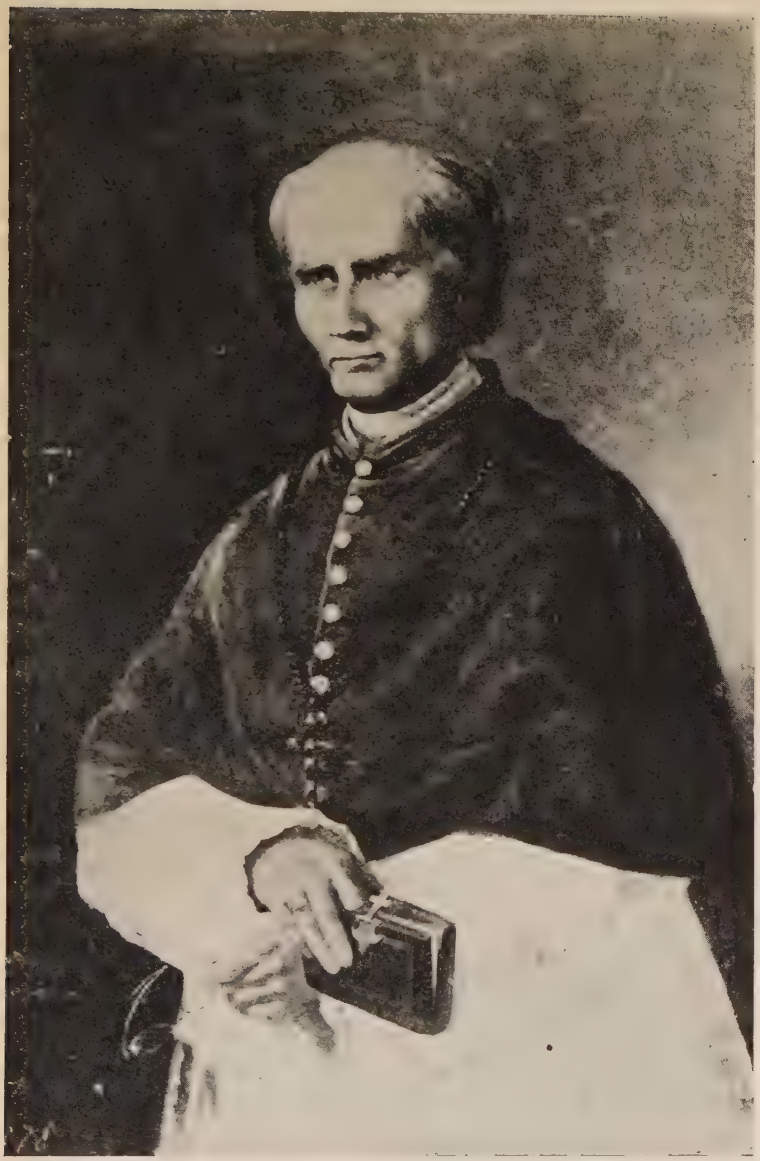
[3] Where he was rector of the diocesan seminary. His consecration as Bishop occurred at Rome on March 12, 1854. See *The Missions,* iv, 711.

[4] *The Missions,* iv, 710-711.

[5] *The Missions,* iv, 717.

[6] Gleeson, ii, 221-222; *The Annals,* 445, 697-698.



+ Fr. José Sadoc Alemany
Obpo. de Monterey A. Calif.

the Holy City, Father Gallagher accordingly went to his native land, and succeeded so well that before the close of the year the heart of the zealous Archbishop was cheered by the arrival of thirteen nuns, who belonged to the two Sisterhoods of the Presentation and of Mercy. The first to reach San Francisco on November 13, 1854, accompanied by Fathers James Cassin and Thomas Cody, were the Presentation Sisters Mary Joseph Cronin (Superior), Mary Daly, Mary Augustine Keane, and Mary Clare Duggan from the convent at Middleton, County Cork, and Sister Mary Teresa Comerford from the convent at Kilkenny, Ireland. They had sailed from their native land on September 21st and landed at New York on October 5th. From there they came by way of the Isthmus of Panamá. Less than three weeks after landing at San Francisco, December 1st, they opened their first free school, and ere long had an attendance of two hundred children.[7]

The Sisters of Mercy, accompanied by the Rev. Hugh Gallagher, arrived at San Francisco in December, 1854. They had been selected from twenty-nine Sisters who had volunteered in St. Joseph's convent at Kinsale, Ireland. These pioneers were the Sisters Mary Baptist Russell (Superior), Mary de Sales Reddan, Mary Bernard O'Dwyer, Mary Frances Benson, and Mary Hawley. With them were allowed to go the three volunteer novices Sister Mary Gabriel Brown, Mary Paul Beechinor, and Mary Martha McCarthy. The eight Religious left Kinsale on September 8th, embarked on the 23rd, and landed at New York on October 6th. From that port they came by way of Panamá, and reached San Francisco on Friday morning, December 8th, the feast of the Immaculate Conception, just in time to assist at Holy Mass and receive Holy Communion in St. Patrick's Church, then on Market Street.[8]

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[7] For the references see *The Missions,* iv, 714.

[8] *The Missions,* iv, 714-715.

It is scarcely believable, yet even in those early days senseless bigotry prevailed among a portion of the people at San Francisco, and it found unscrupulous editors who would lend themselves to its propagation. "Some weeks after the arrival of the Sisters," writes a member of the Community,[9] "anti-Catholic hatred found expression in one of the newspapers which advised the Sisters to return, as the institutions of our Protestant and republican country are known to be obnoxious to their tastes. If this advice is not heeded, we think it is the duty of the attorney-general of California at once to institute proceedings in behalf of the State!" The monumental conceit and arrogance of the editor of the paper, the name of which we are left to guess, must strike a Californian acquainted with the history of the State as ludicrous, to say the least. All the members of the various sects in San Francisco had as yet scarcely grown warm in California, the original inhabitants of which were Christianized and civilized by Catholic Religious long before the gold-seekers appeared about the Golden Gate. Yet sectarian spokesmen already presumed to dictate who should and who should not settle down in the City of St. Francis to aid the sick and destitute!

Worse than that, one of the sectarian passengers of the *Cortez,* which had brought the Sisters to the city, published in the *Christian Advocate* a scurrilous story about the conduct of the Sisters aboard the ship. The victims of the slanderous article, which was abusive of Catholicity also, took no notice of the unwarranted attack, but the captain of the ship, Thomas B. Cropper, on January 18, 1855, vindicated the good name of the Religious in the *San Francisco Herald* in this vigorous fashion: "My position as commander of a passenger steamer makes me a servant of the public, and especially of those who come under my care as wayfarers. I pronounce the article alluded to the most detestable calumny I have ever known or heard of. The parties in question had their seats at the table

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[9] See *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* Philadelphia, June, 1923.

next to me, and I may say they were at all times under my eye and observation. Their religious exercises were performed not only on Sunday but every day, without intruding on others. The extreme propriety of their deportment, their unobtrusiveness, and their gentle lady-like manners should have shielded them from so gross an outrage."

It must have been a queer brand of Christianity which the *Christian Advocate* was advocating. There was certainly nothing Christ-like in it, but it smacked of the hypocrisy of the pharisees at the time of Christ. The real followers of Christ let every one alone, give aid where needed, ever subject to the powers that are, as St. Paul enjoins in his Epistle to the Romans, chapter xiii, 1-2, and all this for God's sake. Hence they never participate in a lawless mob, such as the unchristian *Christian Advocate* appeared quite willing to arouse against the Sisters of Mercy. The good Sister, who brings to light the activities and trials of the Sisters of Mercy at that period, here inserts the remark, which we heartily endorse: *"The real American Protestants have none of the bigotry you often find in Irish and English Protestants."*[10] The vexations and hardships of the good Religious continued for some time, but the foolish bigots at length discovered that it was more profitable to keep their venom to themselves Some incidents which occurred soon after would make highly interesting and illuminating reading matter, and would prove that the history of San Francisco during the mob period needs to be thoroughly revised, but the recital would carry us far beyond the limits that may be properly included in the history of Mission Dolores. We therefore leave the description of what happened after the year 1854 to some modern historian, and proceed to record an important event not related even by Gleeson, although in December, 1869, Archbishop Alemany appointed him "to compile Records and Accounts of the Pious

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[10] The work of the Sisters of Mercy in the Archdiocese of San Francisco, in the *Records of the American Cath. Hist. Society, Philadelphia,* June, 1923, pp. 113-129, *passim.*

Fund of the Californias,"[11] and he consequently had access to the ecclesiastical archives, or might be supposed to have known the facts from tradition.

During the month of October, 1854, Archbishop Alemany assembled the clergy of both dioceses, San Francisco and Monterey, in a second Spiritual Retreat. At the close, October 23rd, His Grace held a Conference or a sort of Synod with them, which was likewise the second in the history of California. Details are entirely lacking, nor should we know that either the Retreat or the Conference had taken place, but for a document in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives which contains a list of the decrees promulgated on said date under the heading—ORDINATIONES—*Pro Clero Sancti Francisci sancitae sub collationibus habitis 23 Octobris,* 1854, *occasione Sacri Recessus, quae etiam ad Diocesim Montisregis extenduntur quoadusque Ordinarius aliter disponat.*"—"Regulations for the clergy of San Francisco resolved upon at the Conference held on October 23, 1854, and which are also extended to the Diocese of Monterey until the Bishop may dispose otherwise."

The *Ordinationes* embrace eighteen paragraphs which contain as many distinct regulations. One of them makes it clear that even as early as 1854, when struggling with poverty and other unfavorable conditions, the clergy led by their Archbishop recognized the necessity of Christian education in the schools, for paragraph thirteen reads: *"Conentur Pastores quantum fieri potest, habere scholas pro pueris et puellis."*—"The Pastors shall endeavor, as far as possible, to have schools for boys and girls." On the same occasion the reply from Rome to the doubts and questions propounded at the Synod of 1852 was also published.[12]

We now close our history of Mission Dolores with an incident that occurred in the same momentous year of 1854, and which demonstrates the manly character of the Catholics

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[11] *Libro Borrador,* Anno, 1869.

[12] See for the text of the Decrees *The Missions,* iv, Appendix G.

of that date. It was the very year that brought forth the *Know-Nothing,* or *American Party,* a secret organization opposed to foreigners, and especially to the appointment or election of Catholics. It derived its name from the fact that its members, being sworn to secrecy, when asked about the association, invariably answered that they knew nothing about it. So in principle this organization was the same as the one that at our time is terrorizing various parts of our country. To come out, under these circumstances, and to publicly proclaim themselves members of the Church, which it was the aim of demagogues to injure, was a rather brave act; yet that is just what happened on St. Patrick's Day, March 17, 1854.

"The Irish population in San Francisco," *the Annals of San Fancisco* relate, "celebrated this occasion in a very grand manner. Two of their associations—*The Hibernian Society of San Francisco,* and the *Sons of the Emerald Isle,* united in performing the ceremonies. There was a large procession of the members formed, which paraded through the city, and then proceeded to the Mission. In the old church there the Rev. Father (Eugene) O'Connell addressed the people in a suitable oration. Previously, they had been entertained by a substantial collation served on the green at the residence of Mr. Wallace, at the Mission. The procession next returned to the city, and made sundry evolutions in the plaza, and marched through some of the principal streets. There were nearly a thousand persons engaged at the ceremony, some hundreds of whom were on horseback. All were dressed in holiday garb, and many wore characteristic green sashes. A fine band of music, and a beautifully painted flag, showing the Harp of Erin, headed the procession. There was much excitement among the Irish citizens, and *Erin go Bragh!* was the order of the day. In the evening the festivities were wound up by a grand dinner at Wilson's Exchange, Henry Toomy in the chair."[13]

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[13] *Annals of San Francisco,* 523-524.

List of Missionaries and Priests

who officiated at Mission San Francisco. In the case of resident priests the dates indicate the occasions on which they served for the first and the last time. They might have arrived earlier or departed later, however.

Fr. Francisco Palóu, June 29, 1776, to July 25, 1785.

Fr. Pedro B. Cambon, June 29, 1776, to September 29, 1779.

Fr. Thomas de la Peña, September 23, 25, 1777; June, October, 1781.

Fr. Vicente de Santa Maria, December, 1777, to February, 1778; December 6, 1778, to June 11, 1782.

Fr. Matias de Santa Catarina, April 11, 1780, to July 14, 1781.

Fr. José A. Murguia, October 3, 1781; April 25, 26, 1782.

Fr. Juan Crespi, November 1, 1781.

Fr. Pedro Cambon, August 22, 1782, to June 28, 1791.

Fr. Juan Antonio Riobo, June 12, 1783.

Fr. Thomas de la Peña, October, 1783; March, 1785; July, 1786.

Fr. Miguel Giribet, September 10, 1785, to October, 12, 1787.

Fr. Fermín de Lasuén, June 11, 1786; September 5, 1791; October 2, 1796.

Fr. Juan N. de Santiago, December 27, 1786, to August 13, 1787.

Fr. Diego García, September 25, 1787, to September 23, 1790.

Fr. Faustino de Solá, October 11, 1787, to April 21, 1790.

Fr. Diego de Nóboa, November 19, 1787.

Fr. Thomas de la Peña, October 5, 1788; November, 1793.

Fr. Antonio Dantí, October 21, 1790, to Febuary 22, 1796.

Fr. Martin de Landaeta, August 19, 1791, to June 8, 1798.

Fr. Isídro Alonzo Salazár, August 9, 1791.

Fr. Diego de Nóboa, October 22, 1791; June 6, December 12, 1792; February 26, October 3, November 16, 1793.

Rev. Augustin de la Peña, Capellan de la Armada, August 26, 1793.

Fr. Gregorio Fernandez, June 23, 1794.

Fr. Juan Martin, August 3-9, 1794.

Fr. Magin Catalá, August 25-30, September 28, 1794.
Fr. Francisco Miguel Sanchez, November 26, 1794.
Fr. Manuel Fernandez, December 9, 1794, to April 18, 1796.
Fr. Diego García, April 18, 1796, to April 25, 1797.
Fr. José Maria Fernandez, September 7, 1796, to May 7, 1797.
Fr. José de la Cruz Espí, June 21, 1797, to June 6, 1799.
Fr. Ramón Abella, July 15, 1796, to April 10, 1819.
Fr. Lorenzo Merelo, October 8-26, 1799; April 16 to July 15, 1800.
Fr. José M. de Martiarena, August 14 to December 26, 1800.
Fr. Martin de Landaeta, October 1, 1800, to October 28, 1806.
Fr. José Antonio de Uria, February 14 to March 9, 1801.
Fr. José M. Martiarena, May 9 to August 22, 1801.
Fr. Luis Gil, September, December, 1801; May, 1802; September, 1803.
Fr. Juan Sainz de Lúcio, October 1, 1806, to January 13, 1816.
Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada, June 21, 1804, to February 28, 1806.
Fr. Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, April 19, 1809.
Fr. Buenaventura Fortuny, October 22, 1810; March, 1819.
Fr. Antonio Rodriguez, August 19, 1811.
Fr. Narciso Durán, May 17, 1813.
Fr. Vicente de Sarría, February 26, 1814.
Fr. Marcelino Marquínez, October 2, 1814.
Fr. Vicente P. Oliva, November 26, 1815, to September 18, 1818.
Fr. V. de Sarría, December 2, 1816; October 9, 1818; August 6, 1825.
Fr. Juan Cabot, April 17, 1819, to November, 1820.
Fr. Luis Gil, July 11, 1819, to August 3, 1820.
Fr. Juan Amorós, November 11, 1820.
Fr. Blas Ordáz, September 28, 1820, to September 22, 1821.
Fr. José Altimira, October 3, 1820, to July 25, 1823.
Fr. Thomas Esténaga, November 27, 1821, to February 29, 1833.

Fr. Lorenzo Quíjas, March 11, 1833, to June 29, 1840.
Fr. Jose M. Mercado, May 27, 1833.
Fr. José Vásquez del Mercado, August 22, 1840, to October 13, 1840.
Fr. Lorenzo Quíjas, February 3, 1841, to June 4, 1843.
Fr. Antonio Reál, March 20, 1844.
Fr. Miguel Muro, June 14 to October, 1845.
Fr. José de Gutiérrez, October 9, 1845.
Fr. José M. Reál, *last Franciscan,* May 5 to October, 1845.
Rev. Prudencio Santillan, January 13, 1846, to February 3, 1850.
Rev. John du Monteil, C. SS. CC., April 5, 1850, to December 8, 1851.
Rev. Anthony Delmas, June 3, to December, 1850.
Rev. Flavian Fontaine, C. SS. CC., December 5, 1850, to August 30, 1853.
Rev. J. Rock, March 20 to December 27, 1852.
Rev. Eugene O'Connell, September 29, 1853, to May 2, 1854.
Fr. Francisco Sanchez, O. F. M., March 12, 17, 1854.
Rev. Richard Carroll, June 2, 1854, to April, 1860.
Rev. Francis Veyret, S. J., October 19, 24, 1854.
Rev. John Handy, April, August, 1857; January to July, 1860.
Rev. J. F. Harrington, May 5, 1857, to January 24, 1859.
Rev. Luis Rivieccio (at the seminary), 1859.
Rev. John J. Prendergast, September 17, 1860, to 1867.
Rev. Thomas Cushing, 1863-1867, assistant.
Rev. Thomas Cushing, 1867 to 1875, Pastor.
Rev. Anthony Delmas, 1867.
Rev. Thomas Fagan, 1868.
Rev. Michael Gualco, 1869.
Rev. Timothy Callaghan, 1870.
Rev. William Bowman, 1871.
Rev. Patrick O'Connell, 1872-1873.
Rev. Anthony Langlois, 1873.
Rev. Richard P. Brennan, 1875 to 1904.
Rev. Patrick Power, 1875.

Rev. Michael McFaul, 1876.
Rev. John Cassin, 1877-1878.
Rev. Patrick O'Connor, 1879.
Rev. Terrence Carraher, 1880.
Rev. P. J. O'Connor, 1881.
Rev. John McGinty, 1882.
Rev. Peter Quealy, 1883.
Rev. J. J. Sullivan, 1884-1886.
Rev. W. J. O'Mahoney, 1886-1888.
Rev. William Quill, 1887.
Rev. P. A. Foley, 1888.
Rev. William Lyons, 1889-1890.
Rev. Charles O'Neil, 1889.
Rev. Cornelius O'Connor, 1890-1891.
Rev. James O'Connor, 1891.
Rev. James Stokes, 1892-1914.
Rev. Eugene C. Kieffer, 1892.
Rev. James Dillon, 1893.
Rev. Albert Warluzel, 1894.
Rev. Joseph F. Gleason, 1895.
Rev. P. B. Duffy, 1896-1897.
Rev. Joseph M. Conway, 1898-1900.
Rev. Michael Clifford, 1901-1904.
Rev. John P. Tobin, 1901-1916.
Rev. P. J. Cummins, 1905-1916.
Rev. William E. McGough, 1909.
Rev. Charles F. Meyers, 1911-1912.
Rev. George L. Lacombe, 1914-1917.
Rev. John Marchisio, 1915.
Rev. John W. Sullivan, S.T.L., 1916-
Rev. Cornelius Guerin, 1916-1922.
Rev. Peter Webber, 1917-1922.
Rev. Patrick B. Duffy, 1917-
Rev. Harold Crampton, 1922-
Rev. Michael Callanan, 1922-

CHAPTER XXXII

Biographical Sketches.—Fr. Francisco Palóu.—Fr. Pedro Cambon.—Fr. Antonio Dantí.—Fr. José de la Cruz Espí.—Fr. Diego García.—Fr. José Maria Fernandez.—Fr. Juan Sainz de Lúcio.—Rev. José P. Santillan.

FR. FRANCISCO PALOU, the founder of Mission San Francisco, was born at Palma, Isle of Mayorca, on January 22, at 6 a. m., and baptized by the Rev. Dr. Antonio Ribot at the cathedral font on January 23, 1723. The parents were Sebastian Palóu and his wife Miquela Amenqual of the parish of Santa Eulalia. In the following year, March 6, 1724, little Francisco Palóu was confirmed by the Rt. Rev. Juan Fernandez Zabate, Bishop of Mallorca (Majorca, Mayorca). At the age of sixteen he entered the Franciscan monastery of Jesus, outside the walls of the city of Palma, and received the habit of St. Francis on November 10, 1739, at the hands of the Fr. Provincial Antonio Perello. Here, where Fr. Junipero Serra made his novitiate in 1730-1731, young Palóu likewise passed the year of his probation, and on November 11, 1740, pronounced the three usual vows. Thereupon the young friar was sent to the monastery of San Francisco el Grande, Palma, in order to devote himself to the study of philosophy and theology. Thus he became, in 1740, the disciple of the great missionary whose biography he was later on destined to compile.[1]

Though no particulars are extant, it is very certain that young Palóu received all the sacred Orders at Palma, and that he was elevated to the priesthood in 1747, when he had completed his twenty-fourth year. Thereafter Fr. Palóu taught philosophy at the same monastery, for which reason Fr. Serra always applies to him the title of *Lector,* which is the term used among Franciscans for the office of professor. Fr. Palóu was thus employed about one year, when he made known to

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[1] Dates supplied from the cathedral and monastery archives by Leroy S. Callahan of the Albertinum, Fribourg, Switzerland.

Fr. Serra his desire to labor among the Indians of the New World. To his surprise and joy he learned that his saintly Fr. Lector had himself long yearned for the opportunity to preach the Gospel to the heathen aborigines on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Both accordingly applied for the requisite permission to join the missionary College of San Fernando in the City of Mexico. After some delay the written permit from the Commissary General of the Indies reached them on March 30, 1749. Both then bid farewell to their relatives and to the brethren at Palma, and on April 13th embarked for the port of Cádiz which they reached on May 7. Here they had to wait till August 28th, when they embarked with nineteen other volunteer Franciscan friars for Vera Cruz. The voyage lasted ninety-nine days, fifteen of which were spent at Puerto Rico. On December 7th all went ashore. Here Fr. Palóu fell greviously ill, but recovered, and then made the distance of more than 200 miles to the Capital like the others on horseback. Only Fr. Serra and another friar insisted on making the journey afoot, and so did not arrive at San Fernando College till January 1, 1750, whereas Fr. Palóu reached it some time before.

Ere long the Rev. Fr. Guardian selected eight of the newcomers, among whom were Fr. Serra and Fr. Palóu, for the Sierra Gorda Missions, which the College had founded in 1744. They set out for their destination early in June. Fathers Serra and Palóu labored among the Pame Indians of the district eight years and eight months, or till September, 1758,[2] when both were recalled to Mexico for the purpose of starting a Mission among the Apaches in the San Sabá country of Texas. The death of the viceroy changed the plans of the government, wherefore the two Fathers remained at the College and were engaged in teaching or in preaching missions to the Mexicans till a royal order expelled the devoted Jesuits from the Missions of Lower California and Mexico. The

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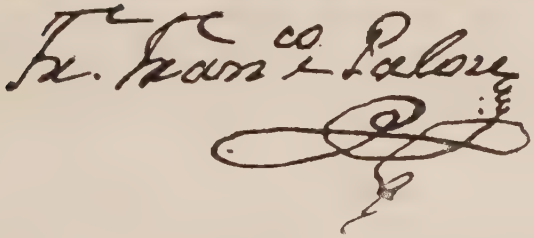
[2] Fr. Serra to his cousin, Fr. Miguel de Petra, Capuchin, Mexico, September 29, 1758, in *Bosquejo Historico.*

College of San Fernando was then directed by the viceroy to take charge of the vacant Missions of the peninsula. Fourteen friars were accordingly selected. Among them was Fr. Palóu. Fr. Serra headed the band of missionaries as Presidente or Superior. Both left the College with seven other Fathers,



five joining them later, on July 14, 1767, and reached Tepic, near the seaport of San Blas on August 21st. Vexatious delays kept the missionaries there till March 13, 1768. Next day they sailed from San Blas on the *Concepcion,* the very vessel that had brought over the victims of insane royal fury, the Jesuits. On Good Friday, April 1st, they reached the port of Loreto. Fathers Serra and Palóu landed at once, the others

preferred to await daybreak on Holy Saturday. Fr. Palóu was assigned to Mission San Francisco Xavier. He labored here alone until the Lower California Missions were delivered to the Dominicans in the summer of 1773, after the departure of Fr. Serra for Upper California, April, 1769, as Presidente of the Lower California Missions. With five Fathers he then set out for San Diego and arrived there on August 30, 1773. As Fr. Serra was absent in Mexico, Fr. Palóu exercised the duties of Superior of the Upper California Missions until the Fr. Presidente returned to San Diego, March 13, 1774. Fr. Palóu remained at Mission San Carlos with Fr. Serra and Fr. Crespi. Meanwhile he twice, September, 1774, and November, 1775, accompanied expeditions to the peninsula of San Francisco. A third time he went with another expedition, which set out from San Carlos under Lieutenant J. J. Moraga on June 27, 1776. Two days later he celebrated the first holy Mass near the spot selected for the Mission of San Francisco de Asís, and thus practically founded the Mission on June 29, the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, 1776, five days before the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America. Two other dates have been celebrated as days of the founding of the Mission, but they both touch formalities and occurred when the Mission was already in operation.

The rest of St. Palóu's activities at Mission Dolores has been described in preceding pages. One important feature needs yet to be noticed. He was an historical writer, but more than that, he was a true historian, upon whose statements one may depend. For the early period of Upper California he is the one authority of note. "There was no man," says Bancroft, "so well qualified by opportunities and ability to write the early history of California as Palóu, and he made excellent use of his advantages. As early as 1773, and probably before that date, he began the accumulation of material by copying original documents and recording current events. He continued this labor of preparing careful historical notes down to 1783, devoting such time as could be spared from his missionary duties at San Francisco. During the years 1784-

1785, having apparently suspended work on his notes (*Noticias*), he gave his attention to the preparation of a life of Serra, his prelate, former instructor, and life-long friend. This work[3] he completed in February, 1785, and carried it to Mexico later in the same year, where it was published in 1787. It has been practically the source of all that has ever been written on California mission history down to 1784. Very few of the modern writers have, however, consulted the original, most contenting themselves with a weak solution of its contents at second hand; hence the numerous errors extant in books, pamphlets and newspapers.

"The manuscript of the historical notes,[4] after lying for some years in the College vaults, was copied into the Mexican archives and finally printed in 1857, though it was utterly unknown to writers on California until 1874 (when it was published by John T. Doyle at San Francisco in four vols.), since which date it has been as carelessly and superficially used as was the life (*Vida*) of Padre Junipero (Serra) before. The *Noticias* is far the more extensive and complete work of the two, though both cover substantially the same ground. I have sometimes been tempted to entertain a selfish regret that Palóu wrote, or that his writings were ever printed, yet all the same he must be regarded as the best original authority for the earliest period of mission history."[5]

Fr. Palóu, after the death of Fr. Serra, August 28, 1784, became acting Presidente of the California Missions, but remained at Mission Dolores till the end of July, 1785, when he retired to San Carlos and prepared to leave the country. Fr. Serra himself had procured for Fr. Palóu the license to retire to Mexico. This seems strange, since Fr. Palóu, on arriving at San Carlos in September, 1774, wrote: "It has pleased God to bestow this special blessing (coming to California), which I acknowledge as a great one, for which I owe

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[3] *Relacion Historica,* or *Vida del Padre Junípero Serra.*

[4] *Noticias de la Antigua y Nueva California.*

[5] Bancroft, *California,* i, 418-420. See also *The Missions,* ii, 403-404.

Him many thanks and give them, though they are of little value, and I ask His love and grace to let me labor in this vineyard during the days He grants me life. I offer myself from now on to His holy service and for the good and the conversion of these poor souls redeemed with His Precious Blood. I gladly offer mine own, if it should be necessary, for the conversion of a single one."[6]

The reasons for retiring to Mexico were strong enough, however, to justify leaving California, and Mission Dolores in particular, in other hands. Governor Neve had already inflicted irreparable damage upon the Missions, and his successor, too, appeared willing to hamper the activities of the Fathers. Both Fr. Serra and Fr. Palóu realized that it was absolutely necessary to have a man near the court of the viceroy, who could counteract the machinations of the enemies of the missionaries reported rolling in wealth and ease. No one was better qualified than Fr. Palóu. Hence it was that he but waited for the appointment of a successor, and then took passage, probably in the same vessel that brought to Fr. Fermín de Lasuén the notice of his election to the office. At all events, Fr. Palóu's last entry in the Baptismal Register of San Carlos is dated September 7, 1785. On his way from San Blas to Querétaro he was seized with a fever, and had to stay at the College of Santa Cruz for some time. He finally reached the beloved San Fernando College on February 21, 1786. Though still suffering from the effects of his late illness, Fr. Palóu was on July 1st elected Guardian or Superior of the institution.

He soon had occasion to defend the work of the California friars against the charges of Governor Fages, and gained his points by his usually clear and truthful arguments. As in Lower California, Fr. Serra's disciple in these years proved himself more than a match for all aggressors. It seems that Fr. Palóu died a short time before the expiration of his term of office, early in the summer of 1789. At any rate, we find Fr. Matias de Noriega on July 1, 1789, signing a circular of

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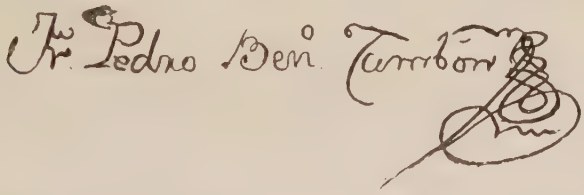
[6] *The Missions,* ii, 130.

the Most Rev. Fr. Commissary General of the Indies as *Presidente in Capite*, which is equivalent to Superior *ad interim*.

Fr. Pedro Benito Cambon, Fr. Palóu's companion at Mission Dolores, originally belonged to the Franciscan Province of Santiago (St. James), Galicia, Spain. That is all we know about his antecedents. He probably was one of a band of forty-nine Franciscan friars who had arrived at the Capital of Mexico from Spain on May 29, 1770, for the purpose of joining the missionary College of San Fernando. With nine other friars he embarked at San Blas for California on January 20, 1771, and arrived at San Diego on March 12th, and at Monterey on May 21st. Here Fr. Serra appointed him and Fr. Angel Somera to establish Mission San Gabriel, which they did on September 8, 1771. After only one year of missionary



labor both Fathers were permitted to retire to Lower California on account of ill-health. There Fr. Cambon staid at Mission San Fernando de Velicatá till September, 1774, when he started for Upper California, and arrived at San Diego on September 26, 1774. From there he seems to have gone by sea to Monterey, where he continued until Mission San Francisco was established, when he joined Fr. Palóu there as assistant. From the end of 1779 to July, 1782, he had to fill the office of chaplain on a Philippine ship. The salary accorded him Fr. Cambon invested in grain and other goods for Mission Dolores. He was present at the founding of Mission San Buenaventura, March 31, 1782, and was left there by Fr. Serra as the first missionary until two friars could be secured from Mexico. He also attended the founding of the presidio of Santa Barbara, April 21, 1782, and officiated there at the first

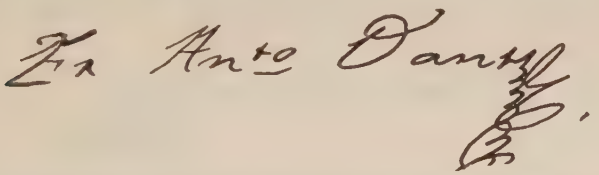
Baptism on July 10 of that year, whereupon he returned to San Francisco.

Fr. Cambon was a zealous and able man, says Bancroft, but his health repeatedly broke down. We accordingly find him "resting" at Mission Santa Clara occasionally, but even then he would frequently officiate there. Thus in the Baptismal Register of that Mission his name occurs on June 2, 1784, June 5, 1786, April, 1789, to January 1, 1790, May 2, June 26 to December 7, 1790. Only once during these years we find him at San Carlos, on June 10, 1790. How highly he was regarded by the Superiors in Mexico, as well as in California, may be inferred from the fact that when in 1789 Fr. Presidente Lasuén received the authority to administer Confirmation, Fr. Cambon was empowered to confirm in the event that either Fr. Lasué or Fr. Mugártegui should die before the expiration of the period for which the authority was granted. The good Father continued at Dolores until poor health compelled him to retire to his College in November, 1791. His last signature in the Mission Dolores is dated September 10, 1791.

The name of *Fr. Antonio Dantí,* probably a native of Catalonia, first appeared in a letter of Fr. Noriega to Fr. Lasuén, dated Mexico, December, 1789. He was mentioned together with three other Franciscans, who had received the approbation of the Archbishop of Mexico, and who were about to depart for California. They finally arrived at Monterey in July, 1790, for Fr. Dantí on July 27, 1790, officiated at a Baptism in the Mission of San Carlos. He appears to have been at once assigned to Mission San Francisco. He continued here zealously until the summer of 1796, when, with the permit of Fr. Lasuén, dated July 20, 1796, he retired to the College on account of an inflammation of the eyes which threatened blindness. His last entry in the Baptismal Register was made on February 22, 1796, which would indicate that he was incapacitated for months before before his departure. He appears to have sailed from San Francisco to San Diego, for we find him entering Baptisms there on October 20 and 29. He probably found an opportunity soon after for sailing to San

Blas. During his term of service at Mission Dolores Fr. Dantí frequently visited Santa Clara, officiating there in August and November, 1790, July and August, 1792, May and September, 1793, and in May, 1794. From November 15 to 25, 1795, Fr. Dantí accompanied an expedition under Hermenegildo Sal, which set out from Monterey in search of sites for new Missions. He also kept a journal of the expedition, from which we learn that they proceeded as far as Alameda or Oakland, and then returned. On the way he pointed out two localities suitable for Missions. One of them was two years later selected for the Mission of San Juan Bautista.

Fr. José de la Cruz Espí came from Valencia, Spain, and joined the College of San Fernando in 1786. Nothing more



is known about his early life, because the College records have since been destroyed by revolutionists. In 1788-1789 he accompanied the expedition of Estévan Martínez to Nootka, on the northwest coast, as chaplain in the ship *Princesa*. On returning to Mexico he seems to have been employed at the College until 1793, when he was assigned to the California Missions. He arrived on the *Aranzazú* in July, and was appointed for Mission San Antonio. He served there from September 13, 1793, to June 6, 1795. He also officiated at Mission San Luis Obispo during April and May, 1794; at Mission Soledad from September 29, 1794, to December 23, 1795; at Santa Clara from December, 1794, to January, 1795, and at Santa Cruz from November 29, 1796, to May 10, 1797. Thereupon Fr. Espí was stationed at Mission San Francisco from June 21, 1797, to August 19, 1799, when he was allowed to retire, as he had served the College the regulation ten years. While at Dolores, however, he also officiated at Santa Clara in May, 1797, and April and May, 1799; at Mission San José on April

22, 1799, and at Santa Cruz on May 5, 1799. Fr. Espí seems to have sailed from San Francisco to San Diego, and waited there for another opportunity to embark, for we find his name in the Baptismal Register there from December 15, 1799, to January 5, 1800. Meanwhile he made a visit to Mission San Juan Capistrano, as his entries in the Mission Registers during the months of November and December demonstrate. He finally sailed from the port of San Diego on January 16, 1800.

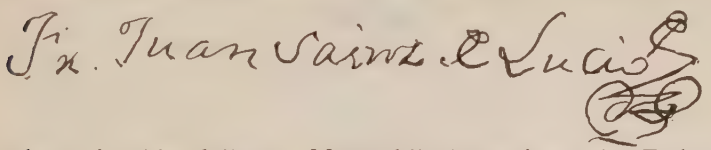
Fr. Diego Garcia originally belonged to the Franciscan Province of the Holy Angels, Andalusia, Spain, which is all that is known about his antecedents. He came from the College of San Fernando in 1787, and was immediately assigned to Mission San Francisco, where he served till September 23, 1790. On the way up he baptized at Santa Clara on September 18 and 23, 1787. While at Mission Dolores he officiated

once at Santa Clara in July, 1788. Then we find him baptizing there on October 2, 1790, and June 12, 1791. He was next called to assist in founding Mission Soledad on October 9, 1791. Here Fr. García staid only till January 28, 1792, when he went to Mission San Antonio, and continued there from March 1 to November 25, 1792. Returning to Soledad he served there steadily from February 9, 1793, to April 19, 1795. On December 16, 1795, he was at Santa Clara Mission, according to the Baptismal Register, and finally served out his term at Mission San Francisco from April 18, 1796, to April 25, 1797. According to the *Lista Annual* of the missionaries, Fr. García's frequent changes from one Mission to another was due to the fact that he was regarded as a supernumerary.

Fr. José Maria Fernandez's antecedents are entirely unknown. He came from San Fernando College to California in June and to San Francisco in September, 1796. He was a kindhearted man, but an accidental blow on the head affected his health, and especially his mind, to such an extent that he

was incapacitated for missionary work. He was sent back to the College, in September or October, 1797.

Fr. Juan Sainz de Lúcio, a native of Cantabria, left the College in February and landed at Monterey on June 6, 1806. He was assigned to Mission Dolores, and went there without much ado, perhaps by water, as we do not find his name in any of the intermediate Missions. The good Father was stationed there for two years as supernumeray, but in 1808 he became the associate of Fr. Ramón Abella, and thereafter labored with him till 1815, when worn out and in ill-health he was permitted to retire to Mission San Juan Bautista, where as supernumerary he made himself as useful as he could. His name appears but once in that Mission Register, March 20, 1816. Soon after, it seems, he went to Monterey and awaited an opportunity to



embark for his College. Meanwhile he assisted the Fathers as well as possible, officiating at Baptisms from June 24 to November 11, 1816, when he departed for Mexico.

Rev. José Prudencio Santillan, though not of the family of the missionaries, may be named here as the last Spanish or Mexican priest who labored at Mission Dolores. He was a Mexican, who as a student came with the Rt. Rev. Francisco García Diego, the first Bishop of California, to San Diego in December, 1811, and completed his studies at Mission Santa Barbara under the eyes of the Bishop. He was ordained priest there on January 1, 1846.[7] On February 1st, he was appointed pastor of Mission Dolores and the whole northern district, which included San Rafael and Sonoma. Details about his activity have been given in preceding pages. On April 20, 1850, Fr. González Rúbio, the Administrator of the Diocese, granted Father Santillan a permit for one year to recuperate from ill-health at Guadalajara, but he never returned.

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[7] See *Santa Barbara Mission*, pp. 236-238, for particulars.

FRANCISCAN COAT OF ARMS

APPENDIX

A

SAINT FRANCIS

The Patron Saint of the Mission, City, County, and Bay of San Francisco, was born in 1182 at Assisi, Italy. His father was Pietro Bernardone, a wealthy cloth merchant of the town, and his mother, named Pica, is said to have belonged to a noble family in the Provence, France. Their first child was baptized in the cathedral and received the name John. When the father returned from one of his frequent business trips to France, he insisted that the boy should be called Francesco.

Little Francis was placed at the school conducted by the clergy of the church of St. George; but the lively boy disliked study, and thus his secular education remained incomplete. Later on his father wanted to make a merchant of him; but for this career, too, Francis manifested little affection. He was fond of pleasure, and, since Pietro Bernardone allowed him full liberty and plenty of money, the spoiled son ere long became the center of the fun-loving youths of his native city. As he possessed a ready wit and a melodious voice, sang merrily, delighted in fine clothes and display, was handsome, gay, gallant, and courteous, young Francis rose to the rank of favorite leader in every feat of arms, and the recognized king in all sorts of frolic. His purse-proud father rather enjoyed the antics of his son, and loved to hear him celebrated because of the distinction the family derived therefrom. In the midst of the revelries two characteristic traits, under God, preserved Francis from grave excesses—a deep-seated aversion for everything vile, and an innate compassion for the poor and afflicted. He went so far as to resolve never to refuse an alms that was asked for God's sake.

Biographers describe Francis as of middle height and delicately built; but the lack of strength in his appearance was compensated by his air of refinement. His face was oval, the brow smooth, the eyes dark, the nose well-proportioned, the mouth beautiful, the skin white, his hair the color of the chestnut, the beard black and scant, and his speech agreeable, clear and animated.

When about twenty years of age, Francis joined his townsmen in a battle with the soldiers of Perugia, a rival city. The Assisians were defeated. Francis with a number of comrades was captured and kept in prison for more than a year. Nothing daunted, he resolved to follow a military career; but a slow fever compelled him to return to his native city. This was in 1205, when Francis counted twenty-three years.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI

During his illness he had learnt the emptiness of the worldly glory for which he had been laying plans, and, though he would sometimes to some extent participate in the former revelries, his demeanor showed that his mind was not so interested in such pastimes as before. His companions would twit him, and would declare that he must be in love. "I am in love," Francis confessed. "I am about to wed a lady of surpassing loveliness." As yet he was uncertain what course to pursue; but he now withdrew from his companions, gave up his gay attire and wasteful ways, and sought in prayer and solitude an answer to his yearning for the something that irresistibly drew him away from things worldly.

From the contemplation of the life of his Divine Savior, to which he now devoted himself, the conviction had grown upon him that, to be a worthy servant and disciple of Christ, self-denial in everything was indispensable. A test one day offered itself unexpectedly. While crossing the plain of Umbria on horseback, Francis met a leper whose appearance was so loathsome that he for a moment recoiled with horror; but, quickly overcoming his natural disgust, Francis dismounted, and, as the leper stretched out his hand to receive an alms, embraced the unfortunate man tenderly, kissed the repulsive sores, and gave him all the money he had. From that day forth, Francis wrote later, he never felt the least repugnance for the loathsome disease. Soon after Francis made a pilgrimage to the tombs of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. There he exchanged his clothes with those of a beggar, and stood for the rest of the day among the mendicants that crowded about the door of the church. He would also visit the hospitals, and served the sick as if in them he recognized Christ Himself.

On returning to Assisi Francis passed much time in contemplating the sufferings of the Divine Savior for which he conceived such a deep compassion that he could never view a crutifix without shedding copious tears. On one such occasion while praying before a crucifix in the church of St. Damian at Assisi, he heard a voice saying: "Francis, go and repair my house, which thou seest is threatening to fall." Believing that the voice referred to the ruinous condition of the church of St. Damian, Francis in his simplicity went to his father's warehouse, loaded a horse with a quantity of cloth, and rode off to Foligno, where he sold both the goods and the horse, and brought the price to the priest in charge of the church that he might have the building repaired. When the priest refused to accept the money, Francis placed it on the window sill and departed. On learning what had happened, Pietro Bernardone in a rage came to St. Damian's, but was pacified when the priest helped him to recover the money. For a whole month Francis thereupon hid himself in a cave near St. Damian's. On reappearing in the streets of Assisi, emaciated from hunger, and poorly clad, he was hooted and pelted with stones by the rabble of the town as a madman. Enraged

and ashamed at the disgrace, Bernardone brought him home, beat and bound him, and locked him up. Freed by his mother, Francis sought shelter with the kindly priest of St. Damian. Then Bernardone had him brought before the Bishop to renounce his inheritance. Gladly Francis made the renunciation. Furthermore he stripped himself of the very clothing, which he gave to his father, and declared: "Hitherto I have called you father on earth, henceforth I desire to say only *Our Father who art in heaven.*"

Then and there, as Dante sings, were solemnized the nuptials of Francis with his beloved spouse, the Lady Poverty, under which name he comprehended the total surrender of all worldly goods, honors, and privileges. The Bishop provided him with the necessary garments, and then Francis went forth joyfully into the hills singing hymns of praise to God, only to fall into the hands of robbers. In answer to their question he said, "I am the herald of the great king." Thereupon they took away his clothing, beat him, and threw him into a snow drift. Naked and half frozen he crawled to a neighboring monastery, where unknown he did all kinds of menial work in return for food and clothing. After some time he went to Gubio, where a former acquaintance took him into his house and provided him with a cloak, girdle, and staff. For a while Francis would visit the hospital, serve the lepers, wash their feet, and kiss their ulcers. Then he returned to his native city and begged alms. With real joy he bore the railleries and contempt in order to smother every vestige of pride and self-love. He next began to beg stones for the restoration of St. Damian's church, carried them to the place, and served the masons till the work was completed. In a similar way he restored two deserted chapels outside the city. One was dedicated in honor of St. Peter, the other was St. Mary of the Angels, or the Porziuncola.

Still undecided as to the course to pursue in accord with the will of God, Francis redoubled his works of charity, and especially nursed the outcast lepers, so that in His own good time the Lord might enlighten him. At length, on the feast of St. Mathias, Apostle, February 24, 1208, while assisting at holy Mass in the chapel of Our Lady of the Angels, he heard the priest read in the Gospel of the day: "Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses! nor scrip for your journey, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff."[1] "That is just what I want!" Francis exclaimed. He had discovered his vocation. Taking the words literally, and as addressed to himself, he adopted the garb of the poor peasants of Umbria, a coarse woolen tunic of gray color, and girt himself with a knotted cord. He then went forth barefooted to exhort

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[1] Matt., x, 9-10. This Gospel was read on that feast in some dioceses at that period.

the country people to do penance, to practice charity, and to love peace, "The Lord give you peace," being his usual salutation.

By this time the Assisians had ceased to scoff. They were beginning to marvel at the heroic self-abnegation of their former merry fellow-citizen. His example even attracted some of the townsmen. The first one was Bernard de Quintavalle, a rich merchant, and he was soon followed by Peter de Catanea, a canon of the cathedral. Both sold what they possessed, gave it to the poor, and joined Francis. A rule of life appeared necessary. In their simplicity, and in keeping with the deep religious spirit of the Ages of Faith, the three proceeded to the church of St. Nicholas to ascertain God's will. Prayerfully opening the Gospel book at random in honor of the Holy Trinity, they found the passage: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give it to the poor."[2] On opening the book a second time, the following passage struck them: "Take nothing for your journey."[3] On opening the sacred volume a third time, they read: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."[4] "This, my brothers, shall be our life and our rule," said Francis, "and it shall be the life and the rule of those who may desire to join us."

The action of Bernard and Peter, giving away their wealth and joining Francis, caused a sensation in Assisi, which reached a climax when soon after another wealthy citizen, who later became famous as Brother Giles, adopted the poor habit of Francis and his two companions. To insure themselves against error, Francis with his first eleven disciples proceeded to Rome, for the purpose of obtaining the Pope's approbation for their new mode of life. Innocent III, despite the opposition of some Cardinals, who thought such a life of absolute poverty too severe, in the fall of 1208 granted a verbal approval of the Rule of the Friars Minor—*Fratres Minores*—Minor or Lesser Brethren, as the founder wanted the members of his confraternity to be designated. Returning to Assisi, the Friars took up their abode near St. Mary of the Angels, or Porziuncula, and there the first Franciscan convent or monastery was erected. It consisted of a few small huts or cells of twigs and straw filled in and covered with mud. The whole was surrounded with a hedge. The Benedictines of Monte Subasio, to whom the chapel of the Porziuncula belonged, generously donated it to Francis for the use of the new institute. The chapel and monastery thus became the cradle of the Order. From there the Friars would go forth two by two exhorting the people to penance and to the love of God.

Sadly the people, high and low, needed to be reminded of the higher object of life. It was an age of luxury and of utter forgetfulness of

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[2] Matt. xix, 21.

[3] Mark vi, 8.

[4] Matt. xvi, 24.

the Creator, so that just such simple preaching alone, and by such men as were entirely detached of everything worldly, could make an impression. At first, these Friars, even at Assisi, earned more rebuffs than food for their endeavors. They were told that it was folly to give away one's own and then go begging. The most thoughtful would say: "These men must be mad, or they must be aspiring to great perfection." Ere long, however, their exemplary and unselfish conduct, and their simple and ardent preaching of the Gospel truths, under God, gained for Francis and his companions an immense influence. Men of different grades of life and ways of thought were attracted and joined the *Povcrello*—The Poor Little Man of Assisi. Among them was Silvester, a parish priest of Assisi, who thus bears the distinction of having been the first priest to enter the new community. The case was the more remarkable, because Silvester had been only too much attached to money and property.

During the Lenten season of 1212, Clare, a young heiress of eighteen, moved by the fervent preaching of Francis at the church of St. George, Assisi, with two companions came secretly to Porziuncula on Palm Sunday, and begged to be allowed to embrace the new manner of life On discovering that the young lady was led by the Spirit of God, he gave her a habit similar to his own, and entrusted her to a convent of Benedictine nuns near Assisi, until he could provide a suitable retreat for her and her sister Agnes, who soon followed with other young ladies. Later on the very mother of Clare and Agnes joined them. Eventually they were established in a dwelling adjoining St. Damian's which the generous Benedictines ceded to Francis as a domicile for his spiritual daughters, where they might lead the life of poverty, mortification, and seclusion. The little convent thus became the motherhouse of the Second Order of St. Francis, better known as the Order of the Poor Ladies of St. Clare, or Poor Clares.

In the fall of the same year, 1212, burning with desire for the conversion of the Mahomedans, Francis embarked for Syria, but suffered shipwreck, and had to abandon his plan. Two years later, with one companion, he set out for Morocco to preach to the infidels. In Spain, however, a severe illness prevented him from crossing the Mediterranean Sea, wherefore he returned to Italy. There he resumed his ardent preaching of Christ Crucified, usually out of doors, in the market-places, from church steps, and wherever a crowd would listen to him. Allured by the spell of his presence, admiring multitudes, unused to popular preaching, followed the Proverello from place to place; church bells rang at his approach; processions of clergy and people came to meet him; they brought the sick to be blessed and to be healed; and they kissed the very ground on which he trod. Yet his addresses could hardly be called sermons. They were exhortations,

ST. FRANCIS AND HIS PET

short, homely, affectionate and pathetic, which touched even the most hardened and the most frivolous.

Thus it happened, for instance, at Camara, a village near Assisi, that the whole congregation were so moved by the preaching of the saintly man that they begged him in a body to admit them into his Order. As this was not possible, Francis devised a middle course for those who could not leave their homes, or desert their avocations, to enter either the First Order for men or the Second Order for women, but would lead a life of Christian perfection in the world. This he called the Order of Penance for both sexes. For them he drew up a suitable rule of life in 1221, which is therefore regarded as the year of the founding of the Third Order of St. Francis.

Such results might have turned his head, but, in his beloved poverty, constant mortification, and deep humility, Francis possessed three safeguards, which under God prevented errors in either the moral or religious order. He allowed his body scarcely enough to sustain life, and every day found new ways to afflict and mortify it. His bed, ordinarily, was the ground, the pillow a piece of wood or a stone. Unless he was ill, Francis seldom used cooked food, and when he did he would add ashes to it. Often his nourishment consisted only of a little bread over which he had sprinkled ashes. He drank only pure water, and then but moderately, no matter how great the thirst or heat. He rigorously observed eight forty days' fast during the year. Yet, although he went to excess in fasting, Francis would not permit his brethren to weaken themselves by overmuch fasting, but allowed them fleshmeat, and directed that when they were with strangers they should eat what was placed before them. Toward the end of his life, indeed, he felt somewhat troubled for having treated Brother Donkey—thus he termed his body—rather severely. In his simplicity he therefore asked Brother Donkey's pardon, but said he had done so in order the better to guard and preserve the purity of his soul. Suffice it to say that his life in this respect was truly angelic.

To extreme austerity Francis joined the most profound humility. In his own eyes he was the basest and most despicable of men, and sincerely desired to be regarded as such. He accordingly loved contempt, and shunned honor and praise. "What I am in the eyes of God, that I am and nothing more," he would say. He would frequently call himself the greatest sinner on earth. When on one occasion a Brother ventured to object: "Father, how can you say that in truth?" Francis replied: "Brother, if God had bestowed upon the greatest sinner the favors He has deigned to confer on me, that sinner would be more grateful than I am: and if God had left me to myself, I should have committed greater wickedness than all other sinners." It was this sense of unworthiness that would not permit him to accept the priestly dignity, but contented himself with remaining a deacon so

that he might be entitled to preach and to assist the priest at High Mass. For the priests Francis nourished a deep respect, so much so that in his Testament he wrote this remarkable passage: "The Lord gave me so much faith in the priests who live according to the rite of the holy Roman Church, because of their sacerdotal character, that if they should persecute me, I would still have recourse to them; and if I had as much wisdom as Solomon possessed, and if I should find the poorest priests in this world, I would not preach in their churches against their will; and I desire to fear, love and honor them and all other priests as my masters; and I do not wish to consider sin in them, for I see the Son of God in them, and they are my masters. I do this because in this world I see nothing corporally of the Most High Son of God Himself except His Most Holy Body and Blood which they receive and they alone administer to others."

Reverence for the priesthood was surpassed by his devotion to the "Holy Roman Church," which is the way Francis usually spoke of her. In his Rule, approved by Pope Honorius III, on November 20, 1223, and which is vowed and observed by the Franciscans and Capuchins alike, Francis declares in the very first chapter: "Brother Francis promises obedience to the Lord Pope Honorius and to his successors canonically elected, and to the Roman Church." Similarly the holy founder closes the last chapter of the Rule with these words: "I command the Ministers-General, under obedience, that they ask of the Lord Pope one of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church to be governor, protector, and corrector of his fraternity, so that, being always subject and submissive at the feet of the same Holy Church, grounded in the Catholic Faith, we may observe poverty and humility and the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we have firmly promised."

In 1223, Francis conceived the idea of celebrating the Nativity of Christ "in a new way." He would reproduce the scene of the Holy Night as nearly as possible in keeping with the Gospel narrative; but he would not make the move without the approval of the Pope. Honorius III listened to the details and gladly sanctioned the plan. Leaving Rome, Francis arrived at Greccio on the eve of Christmas. With the aid of his friend, Giovanni Velita, he constructed a crib, placed therein an image of the Holy Infant, and grouped around it the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, and the shepherds, impersonated by some peasants chosen for the purpose. Nor were the traditional ox and donkey forgotten. Francis himself served as deacon at the Midnight Mass. Since then the pretty custom has spread to all the Catholic churches the world over.

Childlike as he was, Francis wished all nature to rejoice at the coming of the Savior, and therefore desired that the emperor issue a special law providing at that season for the very birds and beasts,

as well as for the poor; for he saw in every creature some reflection of the Creator, and therefore loved it. Thus it was that the very animals found in the holy man a friend who would pat and fondle them, and call them brothers and sisters. Everything, indeed, was brother or sister to him. Innumerable legends describe the love of Francis for birds and beasts alike, and how in turn they manifested their trust and affection. They tell, for instance, how the hunted rabbit took refuge in the folds of his habit; how the frozen bees crawled toward him to be warmed and fed; how the nightingale sang with him in sweetest contest; how the lamb followed him around even to the choir and lay still until the divine office was over; and how the "little sister birds" would cease their chatter and chirping, and would listen respectfully till the sermon on the roadside was finished. The holy man also delighted in communing with inanimate nature. Hence we hear him speak of "Brother Fire, Sister Water, Sister Moon, Brother Sun, Sisters Stars, Brother Wind, Sister Earth, Sister Death," etc.

In reward for his endeavors to imitate his Divine Master in every way, especially in His sufferings, Francis received from God a signal favor, which till then had not been heard of, but which indeed rendered him like unto the Crucified Savior. It was early in August, 1224, that Francis with three companions retired to the Mount of La Verna to keep his forty days' fast in honor of St. Michael, the Archangel. On or about the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, September 14th, while immersed in the contemplation of the Sufferings of Christ, frequently giving expression to his love by his usual aspiration, *My God, and My All*, Francis beheld a marvelous vision. Alban Butler, following St. Bonaventure, relates that Francis saw, as it were, a seraph with six wings blazing with fire bear down from the highest part of the heavens toward him in a most rapid flight, and placing himself in the air nearby. Between the wings appeared a human figure as of a man crucified, the hands and feet fastened to a cross. The wings of the seraph were so placed that two spread out above the head, two others were extended from the sides to fly, and two enveloped the whole body. When the vision had disappeared Francis observed on his own body the visible marks of the Five Wounds of the Crucified Savior. The saint's right side, as described by Brother Leo, who was with him at the time, bore an open wound which resembled one made by a lance, while through his hands and feet ran black nails of flesh, the points of which were bent backward. These were the *Stigmata*, which Francis received two years before his death. The fact is so well attested by the observations made during the two years remaining of his life, although the saint tried hard to conceal the marks, that it would be folly to dispute it. As an evidence of her approval, after rigid examination, the Catholic Church instituted a special feast commemorating the event under the title *Impression of the Holy*

ST. FRANCIS AT THE MIDNIGHT MASS, CHRISTMAS, 1223

Stigmata ow the Body of St. Francis. It is celebrated on September 17th, and is the title under which St. Francis was celebrated as the Patron of the Presidio of San Francisco.

Next to his intense love for the Suffering Savior, his devotion for the Holy Eucharist stands out conspicuously in the Seraph of Assisi. Although he loved Lady Poverty ardently, and she governed him entirely, Francis would not let her dominate where the Bessed Sacrament was concerned. Hence we need not wonder that he wrote as follows in his touching Last Testament: "I will that these Most Holy Mysteries be honored and revered above all things, and that they be placed in precious places." He therefore conjured the clergy to show befitting respect for everything connected with the holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Francis himself would sweep the churches, beg sacred vessels for them, and provide them with altar-breads, etc.

Meanwhile his Order had increased with amazing rapidity. On occasion of the Third General Chapter held at Porziuncula at Whitsuntide, 1220, or 1221, as others have it, as many as 5,000 Friars assembled, besides 500 applicants for the Order. Temporary huts of twigs covered with mats were constructed to shelter them, for which fact it became know in history as the Chapter of the Mats. Finding himself unable to govern so many on account of the poor state of his health, Francis resigned the office of General in favor of his disciple Peter de Catanea.

The reception of the Stigmata had increased the bodily ailments of the holy founder. In July, 1226, therefore, he was taken to his beloved Porziuncula, and there he passed his last days. On the eve of his death he solemnly blessed Bernard of Quintavalle, his first companion, and all the members of his Order. Later, wishing to give a last token of detachment, and to show that he no longer possessed anything in common with the world, Francis removed his poor habit, and covered only with a borrowed cloth lay on the bare ground, rejoicing that he had kept faith with his Lady Poverty to the end. After a while he asked that the Passion of the Lord be read according to St. John. Then in a faltering voice he intoned Psalm CXLI. At the concluding verse "Bring my soul out of prison" Francis was led away from earth by "Sister Death." It was Saturday evening, October 3, 1226, the holy founder being in the forty-fifth year of his age and the twentieth of his perfect conversion to Christ.

Next day, October 4th, the saint's body was borne in procession to Assisi. On the way a halt was made at St. Damian's, so that St. Clare and her community might for the last time behold the face of their spiritual guide, and venerate the sacred Stigmata now visible to all. The remains were provisionally deposited in the church of St. George, where Francis had learned to read and write. Owing to the many extraordinary miracles happening at the tomb soon after, and as no one could doubt the sanctity of the *Povercllo* of Assisi, Francis was

canonized in the same church of St. George by Pope Gregory IX, on July 16, 1228, less than two years after his death. On the day following, the Pope laid the first stone for the magnificent double church which was to rise over the body of the new saint. Thither, on May 25, 1230, for fear that they might be forcibly removed, Brother Elias, the Minister-General, had the remains transferred secretly and buried far down under the high altar. Here they rested hidden for six centuries until December 12, 1818, when the saint's coffin was discovered after a toilsome search lasting fifty-two nights. This discovery of the body of St. Francis is commemorated in the Franciscan Order by a special office on December 12th, and that of the translation by another office on May 25th. The feast of St. Francis is celebrated throughout the Catholic Church on October 4th, and this was the day observed at Mission Dolores.

B

EL PUERTO DE SAN FRANCISCO

This little body of water behind Point Reyes was first discovered and entered on Friday, November 17, 1542, by Captain Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who named it *Bahia de los Pinos,* because "its entire shore is covered with pines clear to the sea."[1] It was rediscovered on November 6, 1595, by Captain Sebastian Melendez Cermeño, who gave it the name *El Puerto de San Francisco.* On January 8, 1603, Captain Sebastian Vizcáino reached the same bay, and anchored just outside, below the point which he named *Punta de los Reyes* in honor of the Three Magi whose octave (Epiphany) was then celebrated. The chief pilot, Francisco de Bolaños, who had been with Cermeño in 1595, at once recognized the bay as the one in which they had suffered shipwreck, and which had since been known as the *Puerto de San Francisco.* Taking advantage of a favorable wind, Vizcáino's fleet continued northward without having made a landing. For one hundred and sixty-seven years thereafter, till sighted and recognized on Tuesday, October 31, 1769, by the expedition under Gaspár de Portolá, the Spaniards knew the little bay by no other name than *El Puerto de San Francisco.* It was this little harbor which Don José de Galvez had in mind when he declared to Fr. Serra: "If San Francisco wants a Mission, let him cause his port to be discovered, and it will be placed there."

Admirers of the notorious English pirate, Francis Drake, have ascribed to him the discovery of the bay entered by Cabrillo thirty-

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[1] *Cabrillo's Expedition* in Prof. Bolton's *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest,* p. 32.

five years before Drake's appearance in the Pacific Ocean. They even succeeded in having the freebooter's name substituted on the maps for the venerable one which it bore during two centuries. For all that, they have not convinced scientists and scholars that Drake ever anchored there, or that his name was justly applied.

Francis Drake, originally a low and unscrupulous adventurer, sailed from Plymouth, England, on December 13, 1577, with one hundred and sixty-four men in five ships well supplied with guns and ammunition in order to plunder and destroy Spanish cities and merchant vessels. He set out with the full knowledge and approval of the no less unscrupulous and heartless Queen Elizabeth. "No instructions of the royal government are extant," writes Prof. Charles Chapman,[2] "but there is such an overwhelming array of circumstantial evidence that there can no longer be a reasonable doubt but that he went forth in the royal service. . . . Elizabeth seemed desirous of some sort of descent upon the Spanish peninsula (although Spain and England were not at war), but Drake 'told her Maiestie of the smale good that was to be done in Spayne, but thonly waye was to anoy by his Indyes.' . . . Drake often stated that he sailed by the queen's commission. According to the testimony of a Portuguese pilot whom he took prisoner and later released: 'He told all those whom he captured . . . that he came in the service of his sovereign the queen, whose instructions he carried and obeyed, and that he had come more for another purpose than that of taking ships.'"

Drake's fleet encountered violent storms which sent four of them to the bottom. Only the flagship, the *Pelican,* escaped to the Pacific Ocean. Renaming his vessel the *Golden Hind,* Drake now made war on Spanish commerce. He captured ship after ship, and transferred the booty of gold or silver to his own boat until it could hold no more. The pirate then determined to return to England; but, aware that the Spaniards were endeavoring to capture him, Drake thought of escaping by the way of a fabled strait in the north, which was said to reach from the Pacific to the Atlantic. He accordingly sailed as far north as Cape Mendocino, or perhaps to the northern boundary of California. When he observed that the shore line turned toward the northwest, and that there was no probability of a waterway to the Atlantic, the freebooter moved down the coast until he arrived at a bay in 38 degrees and 30 minutes. There he anchored the *Golden Hind* from June 17 to July 23, 1579, for the purpose of preparing the ship for the long return voyage to England. After naming the country roundabout *New Albion,* Drake set sail and steered his ship clear across the Pacific to the Philippine Islands, and thence to the Indian Ocean. Rounding the Cape of Good Hope, the successful pirate sailed up the Atlantic back to

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[2]*History of California,* p. 99.

Plymouth, which he reached on September 26, 1580. For six months the queen refrained from according any public approval to her faithful servant in order not to provoke Spain. On April 4, 1581, however, she went in state to dine on the *Golden Hind*. After dinner she bade Drake kneel, and then with a light touch of the sword she gave him the title that was the seal of the court's approval. Thereafter the one

WHERE DID DRAKE LAND?

time low adventurer and later pirate was known as Sir Francis Drake.

"It should be noted," writes Bancroft,[3] "that no regular diary or log of this voyage is extant or is known to have ever been extant. Of the three narratives, which I have cited,[4] one was perhaps written from memory by a companion of Drake. The others are compilations from notes of the chaplain, Fletcher, written under circumstances of which

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[3] *History of California,* vol. 1, 83-94.

[4] *Famous Voyage, World Encompassed, Discourse.*

we know but little, by a man not noted for his veracity, and from reminiscences probably of others. Naturally they abound in discrepancies and inaccuracies. They are sufficiently accurate to leave no room for reasonable doubt that Drake really anchored on the coast in the region indicated, touching at one of the Farallones on his departure, but in respect of further details they inspire no confidence. . . . Few (writers) have been sufficiently impressed with the fundamental truth that Chaplain Fletcher was a liar. . . . There are three bays not far apart on the coast, those of Bodega, Drake and (the present) San Francisco, any of which to a certain extent may answer the requirements. The central bay under Point Reyes, the old San Francisco, is almost exactly in latitude 38 degrees, and agrees better than the others with the south-southwest course to the Farallones as given by one of the narratives; Bodega agrees well enough with the 38 degrees and 30 minutes of the *Famous Voyage,* and more properly than the other may be termed a 'faire and good bay;' while San Francisco, though some twenty minutes south of the lowest latitude mentioned, is a very much more 'convenient harborough' than either of the others. . . . The general opinion in modern times has been that the great freebooter did not enter San Francisco Bay, and that he probably did anchor at Drake's Bay. . . . Between Drake Bay and Bodega I have no decided opinion to express."

Nevertheless, Bancroft[5] quotes at great length John W. Dwinelle, a good authority, who, after a close personal examination, positively identified Drake's anchorage with Bodega Bay. Alexander Humboldt likewise favored Bodega Bay as the refuge of the English buccaneer.[6]

To our mind it seems incredible that Drake and his men should have tarried thirty-five days in the bay claimed for him without making some effort to ascertain the lay of the country roundabout. A wise commander, especially when in charge of such precious treasures, would have assured himself of security from attacks. If nothing else, curiosity would have induced him or some inquisitive sailors to ascend the mountain ridge to the east, the highest point of which, Mount Tamalpais, is but 2,600 feet above sea level. In that event the scouts would have beheld two inland seas, the present San Francisco Bay to the southeast and San Pablo Bay only twenty miles in a direct line to the east of their own refuge. That the narratives of Drake's voyage make not the slightest allusion to either large body of water, seems good evidence that the *Golden Hind* anchored elsewhere.

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[5]*California,* i, 89-90.

[6]*Annals of San Francisco, 32-33,* which work informs us that about the middle of the 19th Century Drake's Bay was better known as *Jack's Harbor.*

The truth is, however, that Drake did make an excursion up into the land, "to be better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country." They visited several (Indian) villages, and "the inland we found to be farre different from the shoare, a goodly country, and fruitful soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man, etc."[7] Drake could not have proceeded many miles without learning, from personal observation or from the Indians by means of signs, that two "Big Waters" existed not far distant. The narrative makes no mention of such information or discovery, which but corroborates the impression that the great freebooter never anchored in the bay unjustly named for him. At Bodega Bay the situation was different. He might there have examined the country for leagues and yet remain ignorant of the existence of either San Francisco or San Pablo bays.

C

MARIA DE LA CONCEPCION MARCELA ARGÜELLO

Doña Concepcion was born at the presidio of San Francisco on February 19th, and baptized at Mission Dolores by Fr. Pedro Cambon on February 26, 1791, as the daughter of Lieutenant José Darío Argüello, the commander of the military fort at the Golden Gate. Romancers have written not a little that is untrue about Doña Maria, wherefore it is expedient to state the facts here correctly in order to remove the misapprehensions that may have resulted from the misrepresentations of story-tellers.

In September, 1805, the Russian chamberlain, Nicholas Rezánof, arrived at Sitka, Alaska, to investigate conditions in that distant Russian colony. He found the people in a pitiful plight for the lack of food. Hoping to obtain provisions in the Spanish settlements of California, he loaded the ship *Juno* with various goods suitable for barter, and with a scurvy-stricken crew of forty-three sailors beside the officers, entered the harbor of San Francisco on April 4, 1806.

Spanish laws forbade trading with foreigners, so Rezánof had to conceal his real purpose as well as the nature of his cargo. Governor José J. Arrillaga was immediately notified, and came up from Monterey to welcome the stranger. As both could speak French the conversation ran more smoothly than before when one of the Fathers of the Mission acted as Latin interpreter for the Russian. "There followed a battle of wits between the two men in which the Spaniard must be admitted to have carried off the honors."[1] "In the ensuing interviews and discussions he (Arrillaga) gradually drew out of the Russian pleni-

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[7]Bancroft, *California,* i, 83.

[1]Chapman, *History of California,* 413.

potentiary, after not a few diplomatic lies on the part of the latter, the substantial truth that the *Juno* had brought a cargo of goods to trade for breadstuffs. Argument, persuasion and flattery were alike unavailing. Arrillaga would not violate the laws, nor his oath of office. The utmost concession he would make was to permit the purchase of grain for cash."[2] This was not satisfactory, because the Russian had first to dispose of his goods in order to make room for supplies, and he had to hasten to aid the starving colonists in Alaska, whose urgent need he dared not reveal. Becoming desperate, as a last devise, Rezánof began to make love to Maria de la Concepcion, the fifteen year old daughter of Commander Argüello. The Russian himself relates what then happened as follows:

"Seeing that my situation was not improving, expecting every day day that some misunderstanding would arise, and having but little confidence in my own people, I resolved to change my politeness for a serious tone. Finally I imperceptibly created in her (Doña Maria) an impatience to hear something serious from me on the subject, which caused me to ask for her hand, to which she consented. My proposal created consternation in her parents, who had been reared in fanaticism;[3] the difference in religion and the prospective separation from their daughter made it a terrible blow for them. They ran to the missionaries, who did not know what to do; they hustled poor Concepcion to church, confessed her, and urged her to refuse me, but her resoluteness finally overcame them all. The holy fathers appealed to the decision of the throne of Rome, and if I could not accomplish my nuptials, I had at least the preliminary act performed, the marriage contract drawn up, and I forced them to betroth us. From this time I managed this port of His Catholic Majesty as my interests required. The governor was very much astonished to see Don José (Argüello) intrust me with the most private affairs of his household, and to find himself all at once, so to speak, my 'guest."[4]

Doubtless Arrillaga was more astonished at the dishonorable methods adopted by the Russian courtier to obtain a cargo of foodstuffs for the starving people in Alaska, when he could have secured them by frankly disclosing the need. Despite the laws, the Spanish government would have approved the act on the ground of humanity, or, as they would have put it more properly, on the ground of Christian charity. However, if the thoughtless girl and her doting parents had lost their wits, shrewd old "Papa Arrillaga," as the governor was fondly

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[2] Bancroft, ii, 70-71.

[3] The use of the term here shows what a fate awaited the girl in schismatic Russian circles.

[4] Bancroft, ii, 73.

styled all over California, had preserved his reasoning faculties unclouded, and therefore resolved to prevent Doña Maria from being victimized. It would not be politic to offend the Russian emissary; but the wise old governor, doubtless secretly in accord with the missionaries, gained his object without causing resentment anywhere.

When apprised of the bethrothal of the infatuated girl to the foreign widowewr, he gradually allowed it to appear that he yielded to the entreaties of the lovely Concepcion, from whom he slowly secured more information than Rezánof was willing to reveal. "A somewhat complicated plan was devised, by which cash was to appear as the medium of purchase on both sides. Accordingly grain was brought in rapidly from all directions, and the *Juno* was soon loaded. Having accomplished his object,[5] Rezánoff delayed as little as possible. On May 21st he sailed out past the fort, firing and receiving a salute as he went."[6]

Concepcion was saved, and "Papa Arrillaga" returned happy to Monterey, convinced that the Russian would never come back to California. Nor did he reappear; for Rezánof died in Siberia on March 1, 1807, while endeavoring, in a state of ill health, to make his way to St. Petersburg. This information, however, was not known on the coast till the year 1842. As for the maiden, still but of schoolgirl age, whose head had so easily been turned by the artful foreigner, Arrillaga knew that, once the cause of the infatuation was removed, time would wear away the hallucination, and then she would awaken as from a horrible dream. A diversion, moreover, came when but a few months later her father was promoted to the rank of captain, and made commander of the presidio of Santa Barbara. There, in the shadow of the Old Mission, and moving in the soothing atmosphere of the sympathetic Spanish ladies of that old conservative and religious town, the young Doña Maria gradually came to her senses. The awakening was complete when her eldest brother, José Ignacio, who had been sent to Mexico to study for the priesthood, in September, 1809, visited his native country and his family in order to celebrate his first holy Mass at Mission San Gabriel, where he was born on June 8, 1782. She must have shuddered when she realized how near she came to bartering her soul away for the passing glitter of an imperial court. At all events, Concepcion spurned all offers of marriage, and, when in 1815 her father became governor of Lower California, she accompanied the family to that dreary peninsula. As the Mexican government, owing to the rebellion, could pay no salaries, her parents had to struggle with dire

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[5]Which was to secure provisions, not a slip of a girl, who as the daughter of a mere lieutenant would hardly have been admitted into the proud circles of the richest court in Europe.

[6] Bancroft, ii, 74-75.

poverty which the noble daughter shared courageously. She might have improved their condition if she had accepted a persistetnt American suitor for her hand. He even promised to become a Catholic; but the awakening had been thorough. We can infer as much from a letter dated Loreto, April 20, 1818, in which Doña Mria denies that she was to marry the American as rumored at Santa Barbara; that she had in no way encouraged him, though he offered to change his religion for hers; and that, although once the thought came to her that, if she married him, she might save his soul, she reflected that, if his conversion were sincere, he had no need of her.[7] This indicates that Concepcion had eradicated every affection for the Russian, and that her mind was occupied with loftier ideas. She probably reflected, as such a deeply religious soul would reflect, that even a long life of poverty could not be long enough to thank her God adequately for having preserved her from a fate which she now fully realized would have been dreadful.

Captain Argüello, her father, in 1822 resigned the office of governor, and with his family retired to Guadalajara, where he died in 1828, followed by the mother only one year later. Concepcion stood by them faithfully to the end, and then returned to Santa Barbara. She desired to enter some Sisterhood, but, as there was none in California at that time, she did the next best thing and joined the Third Order Secular of St. Francis, passing her time ministering to the sick, teaching Indian as well as Mexican children, and performing other works of charity and of religious piety till the beginning of 1851. When on the arrival at Santa Barbara of Bishop Alemany, December, 1850, she learned from him that Dominican Sisters were establishing a convent at Monterey, her heart beat wildly with joy. Though sixty years of age, she pleaded so ardently with His Lordship that the Bishop granted her petition to enter the convent as the first novice of the institute in California. Then bidding farewell to her many friends, Doña Maria Concepcion, or La Beata, as the Barbareños revered her, hastened to Monterey. There, on April 11, 1851, she received the white habit of St. Dominic at the hands of Bishop Alemany himself, and with it the name of Maria Dominica. In 1854 the Sisters moved to Benicia, and there Sister Maria Dominica lived happily till her edifying death on Christmas Day, December 25, 1857. Two days later the body was laid to rest in the Dominican cemetery, Benicia.[8]

Such was the career of Doña Maria de la Concepcion Argüello delineated here in accord with the known historical facts, and, where these appear obscure, strictly in keeping with the religious and ethical prin-

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[7] Bancroft, ii, 78.

[8] *Dominicana,* vol. 1, 339, 343; vol. ii, 13.

ciples of all concerned. A host of reputable writers have celebrated the heroic maiden in prose and poetry with admiration for her nobility of character, spotless conduct, filial affection, and fidelity to her God. Thus the life of Doña Maria de la Concepcion offers rich material for a magnificent drama to the right kind of playwrights; but only clean minds should approach it.

D

EL DIARIO DEL P. RAMON ABELLA

The copy in the *Santa Barbara Mission Archives* covers twelve folio pages. Fr. Abella describes the land and water courses very minutely, but it would be tedious reading. We shall, therefore, reproduce only the names of places, rivers, islands, and Indians, together with incidents of note. The expedition lasted from October 15 to 30, 1811. The happenings of every day are noted under the respective dates. Fr. Abella was accompanied by Fr. Buenaventura Fortuni of Mission San José. The military commander was Sergeant José Sanchez.

"October 15," the journal begins, "we set out in the two launches of the Mission and the presidio at 10 in the morning, and stopped at Angel Island on account of the tide which came in from the ocean. At 4 p. m., when the current was favorable, we sailed and reached Point Huchunes.

"October 16. We sailed from Point Huchunes, which we named San Pablo, and where we had passed the night. Opposite this point is another which we named San Pedro." The expedition surveyed the large bay (San Pablo), and to the north and west of it discovered five pagan rancherias. Another point was named San Andrés, Point Pinole according to Bancroft. The navigators continued to Karquines Strait, and through it to the end in the Chupunes country. They camped at a place called *La Division.* It had plenty of fresh water and sufficient wood.

"October 17." The explorers entered a large bay where the water gradually became fresh. It was Suisun Bay. For eighteen leagues they continued eastward, passing islands, tules and swamps, into a channel to the right, and camped on an island which was the fishing grounds of the Ompines Indians. Bancroft thinks it was either Kimbal or Brown Island.

"October 18." The expedition set out at seven in the morning. Going back half a league, they took the channel to the left. Proceeding eastward, the explorers passed another island, Kimbal's or West's (?). At noon they landed near a pool. A waterway (Three Mile Slough at the head of Sherman Island, according to Bancroft) lead through into the *Rio del Norte de San Francisco,* now Sacramento River. Half

a league farther on the Spaniards turned into the righthand branch (West Channel of the San Joaquin), and sailed southward in a winding course with nothing in sight but water, sky, and tules, so that for want of a place to land they slept on the launch, after having labored till eleven in the night.

"October 19." The expedition started out as early as five in the morning, moved up stream, and encountered two or three Indian rancherias, the inhabitants of which had already become Christians at Mission San José. For the night they camped in the region of the Cholbones.

"October 20." We set out at sunrise with the intention of celebrating holy Mass at the Indian fishing grounds," Father Abella writes, "but we had to return and then offered up the Holy Sacrifice, as it was Sunday."

"October 21." The explorers sailed at one p. m., and navigated till nightfall toward the northeast and east. Much timber obstructed the water course.

"October 22." Starting out at seven in the morning, the launch moved southeastward. At the junction of the San Joaquin, which Fr. Abella named San Juan Capistrano for the saint of the next day, with a chisel a cross about four fingers wide and proportionately high was cut into an oak tree, about four *varas* (eleven feet) from the ground.[1] On this day Fr. Buenaventura baptized six infirm and decrepit pagans after what instructions he could give them, and a new-born babe of a neophyte from Mission San José, whence some Indians had come to firsh. At a rancheria of the Coyboses seventy Indians of all ages and of both sexes presented themselves. The village contained about 180 souls. Here Fr. Buenaventura baptized one sick child and one sick and decrepit woman, because from this rancheria some Indians had already joined Mission San José. The explorers went into camp for the night a league below the village.

"October 23." Starting at seven in the morning, and moving northwestward for about three leagues, the expedition reached a large rancheria which indeed proved three rancherias separated but a small distance from one another. They contained about 900 inhabitants. About 150 came out to welcome the strangers. On this day Fr. Buenaventura baptized a few sick people and some babies who were related to neophytes of Mission San José.

"October 24." The explorers moved out at six in the morning for the northwest, following the course of the river, and apparently again came to the junction of the rivers.

"October 25." Leaving the camp at seven in the morning, the Spaniards in time approached a rancheria of sixty huts, and later in the day discovered various smaller villages.

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[1]Bancroft, *California,* ii 323, says they set up a cross.

"October 26." The start was made at seven a. m. The tide was very low, Fr. Abella remarks. Finally a rancheria of Ompinos Indians came in sight, some of whose villagers had already been baptized. The Rio San Francisco was followed downward.

"October 27." Being Sunday, holy Mass was celebrated before leaving the camp on the *Loma de los Tompinos*. At eleven a. m. the launches began to move and all went into camp one league before reaching the plain of the Suisunes.

"October 28, the feast of Saints Simon and Jude, Apostles." Holy Mass was celebrated and then the expedition proceeded one league to the head of Suisun Creek, and to the edge of a large plain covered with oaks. The Cerro de los Bolbones was about twelve leagues to the southwest. Here fifty Indians from two rancherias paid us a visit and made us some presents, says Fr. Abella. The rancherias were Malaka and Suisun. Another village farther down was called Ululatto. Not far away was the site of the battle in which Ensign Gabriel Moraga defeated the Indians. The vicinity was pronounced excellent for a Mission, but it was hard to reach except by water through Karquines Strait.

"October 29. We set out at two o'clock in the morning and reached the Strait of Karquines by sunrise," Fr. Abella informs us. In the afternoon the expedition arrived at Angel Island.

"October 30." The day was spent trying to cross to the presidio in the face of unfavorable winds and tide. The 58 persons[2] composing the expedition in the launch of the presidio and in that of the Mission at length safely reached their homes late in the afternoon.

E

JAMES OHIO PATTIE'S VACCINATION STORY

J. O. Pattie, a Kentucky adventurer and trapper, arrived at San Diego with his father and other trappers on March 26, 1828. Not having any passports, all were imprisoned by Governor Echeandia, but later on released. Young Pattie was paroled for one year so that he might vaccinate the Indians and whites all along the coast to San Francisco; at least such is his claim. On returning to Cincinnati, August 30, 1830, he was induced to write out the tale of his adventures. Soured on account of the treatment he and his father had received at the hands of Echeandia, and under the spell of the anti-Catholic craze of the period, he wrote *from memory* his experiences or alleged experiences, and a Rev. Timothy Flint, editor of *The Western Monthly Review* of Cincinnati, edited and prepared Pattie's *Personal Narrative* for publi-

[2] Bancroft has 68 persons.

cation. The book appeared in 1831. Flint's connection with the work may account for many of the savage flings at the poor missionaries; but Pattie himself in this tale proves such a wholesale prevaricator that we wonder that a Professor R. G. Thwaites could consent to republish the worthless production, if honest information was the object. However, if the professor's own knowledge of the California Missions had been deeper, his notes would have been more historical and adequate.

Pattie claimed to have begun his trip at San Diego on January 18, 1829. We must take his word for it because there is not the slightest record of his journey from one Mission to another to be found anywhere. "At San Luis Rey," he writes from memory, "I found an old priest, who seemed glad to see me. I gave him the General's (Echeandia's) letter. After he had read it, he said, with regard to that part which spoke of payment, that I had better take certificates from the priests of each mission, as I advanced up the coast, stating that I had vaccinated their inhabitants, and that when I arrived at the upper mission, where one of the high dignitaries of the Church resided, I should receive my recompense for the whole. Seeing nothing at all singular in this advice, I concluded to adopt it."

The "advice" is nevertheless so singular that it was impossible for good Fr. Peyri, then at San Luis Rey, to give it. Every Mission paid its own expenses. The Superior of the Missions, Fr. Vicente de Sarría, resided at Mission San Carlos, to whom Mr. Peyri would have given Pattie a personal letter of explanation. The itinerant vaccinator says nothing of this, and therefore this part of the story may be put down as a fabrication. Furthermore, Pattie claimed to have found 3,904 Indians at the Mission of San Luis Rey, and that he had vaccinated 2,850. The truth is 2,744 neophytes then lived under the Mission's jurisdiction, but about one-third dwelt at Pala whither Pattie did not go. Then he relates the following nonsense: "The greater part of these Indians were brought from their native mountains against their own inclination and by compulsion, and then baptized, which act was as little voluntary on their part as the former had been." With this specimen of Pattie's veracity we may skip the statements about the other Missions, and at once go with him to the end of the route; for the trapper's memory makes a veritable jumble of the geography of the Missions

"I reached the above-mentioned (San Francisco) mission on the 29th of June, 1829," Pattie relates. "Finding the person of whom I was in search, I presented him all the certificates of the priests of the missions in which I had vaccinated, and the letter of the General. I had inoculated in all 22,000 persons." How the trapper-doctor contrived to do this surpasses our understanding; for the fifteen Missions at which he vaccinated, as he claims, contained only 11,551 Indians, and the whites did not exceed 2,000 souls. Five other Missions he did not see

at all, and at Dolores he failed to vaccinate for the reason Pattie now proceeds to unfold.

"After he (the priest at Dolores) had finished the perusal of these papers, he asked me what I thought my services were worth? I replied that I should leave that point entirely in his judgment and decision. He remarked that he must have some time to reflect upon the subject and that I must stay a week or two with him. I consented willingly to this proposal, as I was desirous of crossing the bay of San Francisco to the Russian settlement called Bodego." Fr. Esténaga, for it was he who managed Mission Dolores at that time, must have been amazed on receiving the certificates, and he must have wondered how they concerned him; but when he heard the stranger claiming to have vaccinated 22,000 persons, he must have concluded that an escaped lunatic had entered his room whom it was best to humor in order to elude bodily harm.

The climax of mendacity and absurdity was reached at the next interview. "I soon saw myself again in the presence of the Spanish priest," Pattie resumes his story, "from whom I was to receive my recompense for the services performed on my long tour. . . . He then demanded of me how I liked the coast of California? I answered that I very much admired the appearance of the country. His next question was how I would like the idea of living in it? It would be agreeable to me, I returned, were it subject to any other form of government. . . . He then handed me a written piece of paper, the translation of which is as follows: "I certify that James O. Pattie has vaccinaated all the Indians and whites on this coast, and to recompense him for the same I give the said James O. Pattie my obligation for one thousand head of cattle and the land to pasture them; that is, 500 cows and 500 mules. This he is to receive after he becomes a Catholic, and subject to this government. Given in the Mission of San Francisco on the 8th of July, in the year 1829.—John Cabortes."

If the disgruntled Pattie had reproduced the exact text of the Spanish note he claimed to have received, we could judge for ourselves. Fr. Esténaga wrote Spanish, and in that language cows and mules are not thrown together and classified as cattle. The Mission then had only eighteen mules, and in all the Missions from Monterey to Sonoma there were not 500 mules. Fr. Esténaga possessed not a foot of land, and therefore could not have given away any land. "On condition that he become a Catholic" is too stupid a fabrication for serious consideration. Pattie, as many other foreigners had done, might have traveled back to San Diego, when he would have been provided with a fresh horse at each Mission, besides board and lodging, and it would have cost him nothing. No distinction was made between Catholic or non-Catholic guests. Such is the testimony of all the travelers who visited the Missions. Moreover, there never was a John Cabortes at any Mission

in the whole history of California. Fr. Thomas Esténaga was the missionary in charge of Dolores Mission since the year 1821.

"When I had read this," the veracious vaccinator continues, "without making use of any figure of speech, I was struck dumb. My anger choked me. As I was well aware of the fact that this man had it in his power to hang me if I insulted him, I said nothing." This statement is really too ridiculous; but it was doubtless swallowed as the truth by the gullible and rabidly anti-Catholic populace in the Eastern States. No priest or missionary had any jurisdiction in criminal cases. These were reserved to the governor and his subordinates. Pattie recovered his breath, and then, so he declares, he gave the priest a piece of his mind, for which the missionary ordered him to leave the house. The imaginative trapper then procured a horse from a settler and hastened on to Monterey. "I found an American vessel in port just ready to sail," Pattie relates. On this he took passage.

F

RANCHERIAS MENTIONED IN THE REGISTERS

Alaguali, east of San Francisco Bay
Alectac, (Aleitac) in the valley of the Arroyo San Mateo
Almejas, or San Pedro y San Pablo
Altagmu (Altamu), or San Mateo
Aluenchi
Amictu
Amuctac, toward the southwest
Amutaja, adjoining the Cañada de la Visitacion
Anamas, northern shore of the Golden Gate
Atarpe
Chachanegtac, or Las Pulgas
Chagunte, toward San Bruno
Chapugtac, east of San Francisco Bay
Chimus
Chioischin, or San Bruno
Chirau
Chocoayco
Choleguebit, far east of San Francisco Bay
Chupanes
Chutchue (Suchui), or Neustra Señora de la Asumpcion
Chynan Jumiamuc
Conap
Cosapo
Geluasibe
Genau, east of San Francisco Bay
Guet, east of San Francisco Bay
Gulcismijtac, in San Agustin Cañada, this side of Las Pulgas
Halchis, east of San Francisco Bay
Horocroc, east of San Francisco Bay
Libangelva, north of Golden Gate
Liuanegtur
Macsinum
Malsaitac, near San Mateo
Mitline, toward Lake Merced
Naio, north of the Golden Gate
Oquisara, east of San Francisco Bay
Olestura

Opurome, towards the beach of Lake Merced
Ousint, at the pastures of the mares
Patnatac, east of San Francisco Bay
Payesone
Petlena
Petlenuc, near the Reál Viejo
Pruristac, in the valley of the Almejas
Puichon
Pusuay
Salson
Satumnum, three leagues south of the Almejas
Seputca
Sicca, in the vicinity of Guriguri
Sichitca, east of San Francisco Bay
Siplichiquin, San Bruno
Sipi
Siscastac, near Asumpcion
Siti, toward the Arroyo Grande
Sitintac
Sitiutajca, Sitliutaj
Subchiam
Supichum, at San Mateo
Tajumi, east of San Francisco Bay
Tasgigara, east of San Francisco Bay
Telamu
Thenau, southeast of San Francisco Bay
Timigtac, or Calera
Toquisara
Tubisinte, La Visitacion
Tunmuda, in the valley and near the Arroyo San Mateo
Tuzsint
Urebure
Ussete, near Las Pulgas
Uturibe
Uturpe

INDIAN TRIBES IN THE DISTRICT

Aaguali
Caguapalto (language of the Napa Tribe)
Canicaynos
Chocoayco
Choquinicos
Lamchines, around Las Pulgas
Oljones
Olompali
Omiomi
Petaluma
Pucha
Pusguy
Salsones
Saniles
Suisun
Suyusuyus
Ululatos

G

LA LAGUNA DE LOS DOLORES

"I have resided here a long time," writes Mr. J. W. Dwinelle in *Our Centennial Memoir*,[1] "and have had ample opportunity to consult the recollection of old people resident here, who received the 'traditions of the elders' respecting the early history of San Francisco. The

[1] San Francisco, 1877.

testimony pertinent to that matter is of two kinds—documentary and verbal. Of the documentary:

First.—The statement of Father Francisco Palóu, one of the two Franciscan Friars who founded the Mission of Dolores, that on the 27th of June the expedition arrived in the vicinity, and the commander ordered a halt on the margin of a lake (laguna) which Señor Anza named after our Lady of Dolores, 'Nuestra Señora de Los Dolores,' which is in sight of the creek of the Weeping Willows and on the shore of the inlet or arm of that sea which trends to the southeast:—'Que está a la vista de la Ensenada de los Llorones y playa del estero ó brazo del mar que corre al sudeste.'[2] These Llorones (weeping willows) were, of course, not nourished by *salt* water, which would have killed them, but were on the stream of *fresh* water issuing from the ravine lying to the northwest of the Mission church, which supplied the Mission itself and its rancherias with water; and, after crossing what are now Valencia, Guerrero, Howard and Falsom streets, emptied into Mission Creek at right angles, at a point about 550 feet easterly from the southeast corner of Folsom and Fourteenth streets, and which in its whole course, from Mission to Folsom streets, was fringed with 'weeping willows,' and in full view of the laguna or pond, which I have designated the Laguna de los Dolores, even as late as the year 1855. The shore of Mission Creek—the arm of that sea which trends to the southeast, the Bay of San Francisco—is also visible from the place which I have designated as the Laguna or Pond of Dolores.

Secondly.—The further statement of the same author, that on the same day and year the expedition encamped on the border of a large pond which empties into that arm of the sea of the port which trends fifteen leagues to the southeast. "Una grande laguna que vacia en el brazo de mar del Puerto que interna quince leguas al sudeste."[3]

Thirdly.—That when the site of the Mission was selected, it was in the vicinity of that pond, and on the plain lying west of it. "En este mismo sitio de la laguna, en el plan 6 llano que tiene al poniente."[4]

Fourthly.—In fact that when the French Admiral La Pérouse touched at Monterey, in September, 1786, he despatched some of his officers to the Port of San Francisco, who made a chart of the Bay, which was sent to France, and published with the account of his explorations up to that point, and it thus preserved to us. On this chart, No. 33 of the series of the maps of that expedition (from which a zincographic copy of the Bay of San Francisco is reproduced here), although it is not

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[2] Arm of the sea, i.e., San Francisco Bay. Palóu *Noticias,* vol. iv, 166.

[3] *Life of Fr. Junipero Serra,* chapter xlv.

[4] *Life of Fr. Serra,* cap. xlv.

LA PEROUSE'S MAP OF THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO

hydrographically accurate in respect of mathematical proportions and distance, as, of course, it could not be, without an actual survey, yet the general lines of the coast and Bay, and the relative positions of the prominent physical objects, are laid down with a wonderful approximation to correctness. "La Laguna de los Dolores"(I) is laid down precisely where the "Willows" were situated, with an outlet into that portion of the Bay of San Francisco "which trends towards the southeast," answering precisely to the description given by Palóu. It is ten times as large as "Washerwoman's Lagoon,"(G) which is called "Pequeña Laguna"—little pond—and is five times as large as Mountain Lake,(C) "La Laguna del Presidio"—Presidio Pond. It is curious and interesting to observe that, while Alcatraz(J) and Angel Island(K) have their respective modern designations, Yerba Buena Island(M) is called "La Isla del Carmel"—Carmel Island. Fort Point(D) "La Punta del Angel de la Guarda"—The Point of the Guardian Angel; Point Lobos is not named, although it and its Seal Rocks are laid down, and the "Laguna de la Merced"(B) is represented as having a free, open communication with the ocean.

The Presidio(F) and also the Mission(H) are designated on the plan. Thus, in the year 1786, and only ten years after the Mission of Dolores was founded, a *corps* of French naval officers, coming to San Francisco with instructions to make a map of the localities here, do make one, which, on its face, bears testimony to its general correctness, and on which a laguna or pond, called the Laguna of Dolores, is laid down, and also the Mission of Dolores, precisely where Palóu says it was, "to the west of the said laguna, and on the same plain." Thus far with the documentary testimony.

Now, as to the verbal testimony. Some twelve years ago,[5] I had an interview with a well-known lady, then resident at the Mission of Dolores, Doña Carmen de Síbrian de Bernál. She was born of Spanish lineage at Monterey, California, in the year 1804; was married at San José in 1821 to José Cornelio Bernál, a resident of the Mission of Dolores, and they came here to reside in the same year. She was a woman of great vivacity, and stated to me that the tradition given to her by the old residents of the Mission was that, when the Missionary Fathers came here to establish the Mission, they encamped at a pond which existed where the place of resort, called the "Willows," was at the time of this interview, to which a great tide creek formerly made up fro mthe Bay: "En donde son ahora los saucelitos, en donde habia en eso tiempo un estero grande de la Bahia." I also, at that time, visited the site of the "Willows," and found that, although the soil had been greatly filled in during my own recollection by the deposits of silt

[5] Dwinelle wrote this in 1877.

and of vegetable accretions, the fresh water was still flowing out towards the Bay, and I could not find any tree there which appeared to be more than forty years old. The "estéro," or tide creek, still made up nearly to the "Willows," but I then thought that it must soon be obliterated by the progress of public improvements.

Since the date of that interview the tract embracing the "Willows," and included within Seventeenth, Nineteenth, Valencia and Howard streets, has been graded and filled, but from the sewers which drain it there still flows a constant stream of clear fresh water, showing that the laguna was fed by living springs. . . . My opinion is that the "Willows" and the Pond or Laguna of Dolores were one and the same.[6]

H

RETURN OF THE FRANCISCANS

The last Franciscan in 1845 surrendered Mission Dolores to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Francisco Garcia Diego and withdrew to Santa Clara. On March 21, 1851, the same Fr. José Suárez Reál formally ceded this Mission to the Jesuit Fathers, and returned to Mexico. One by one the other Missions, through the death of the incumbents, became the charges of the Bishops, who in time substituted secular priests when they could be secured. Finally, only one of the ancient missionary establishments remained in the care of the Friars Minor, who endeavored to retain the sacred place by enlisting recruits from other than Spanish countries. By the year 1884, however, it had become evident that the little community would ere long cease to exist, unless it were adopted by one of eastern Franciscan provinces. An appeal was therefore made to the Superior-General, at whose petition Pope Leo XIII ordered Santa Barbara Mission with its remnant of friars to be attached to the Province of the Sacred Heart, St. Louis, Mo. This change was effected in 1885.

Two years later, Most Rev. Patrick William Riordan, D. D., Archbishop of San Francisco, invited the Superiors of the Province to accept the charge of the German parish in San Francisco and of the scattered Indians in Lake and Mendocino counties. Accordingly, on February 16, 1887, three Franciscan Fathers—Gerard Becher, Victor Aertker, Paulinus Tolksdorf—and three Franciscan lay brothers—Beatus Struewer, Kilian Rothbert, Onesimus Ehrhardt—took possession of the convent building vacated by the Dominican Sisters, near St. Boniface Church on Golden Gate Avenue. Thus it was that, after the lapse of

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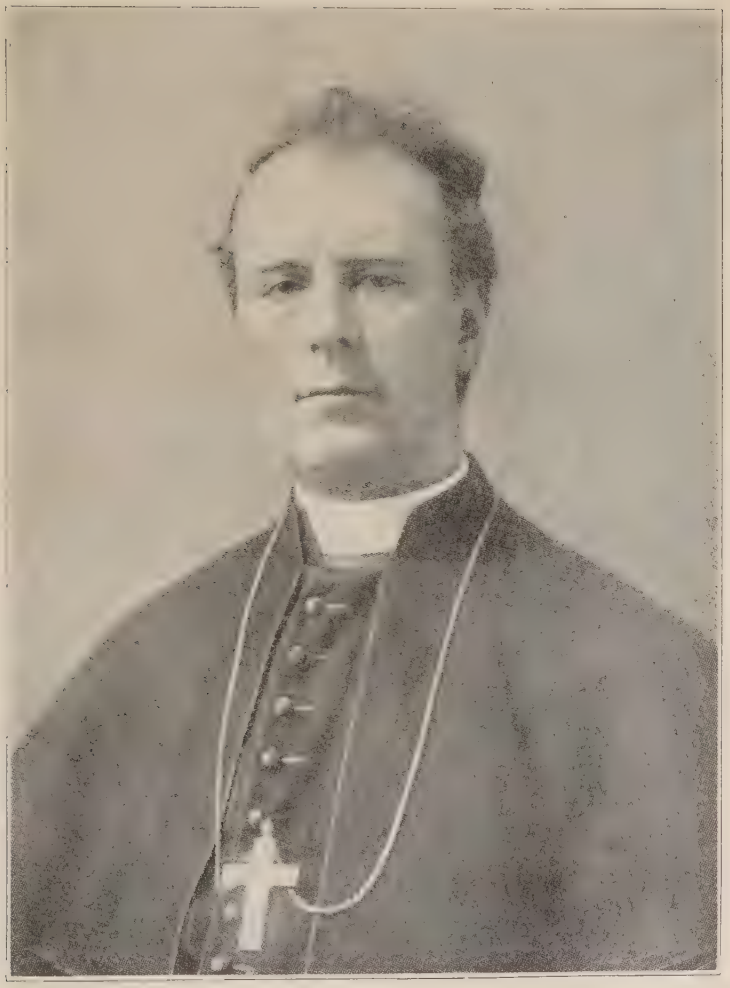
[6] John W. Dwinelle in *Our Centennial Memoir,* p. 191. *Compare* Gerstaecker's description in chapter xxvii, this volume.

forty-two years, the sons of St. Francis came back to the locality named for their Seraphic Father, and hallowed by the activities of Fr. Junípero Serra, Fr. Francisco Palóu, and successors. On August 20, 1887, the Fathers Stanislaus Rieman and Victor Aertker with the Brothers Erasmus Beier and Nicolaus Uhrmacher took up their quarters in a small dwelling adjoining a little Indian church on the southern shore of Clear Lake, whence they were to attend the scattered flock assigned to them.

The beginnings of the German immigration date back to the year 1848, when the discovery of gold attracted numberless colonists and adventurers to California. Many thousands who spoke the German language established themselves in and around San Francisco. A large proportion professed the Catholic Faith. Toward the end of the year 1852 these had grown so numerous that Bishop Alemany gave them a pastor in the person of the Rev. Florian Schweninger, a Benedictine from New York. Whatever the reason, Father Schweninger did not remain long, for in the Catholic Directory for the year 1853, Bishop Alemany reported him as stationed at Shasta, Cal., and subsequently at Weaverville. No priest of their nationality seems to have attended the Germans till 1858. In that year the Rev. Sebastian Wolf, since 1856 at Placerville, was transferred as assistant to St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco. Accordingly, the Catholic Directory reported for that year: "There is a German sermon at the Cathedral at the Mass of 9 o'clock, on Sundays." Again for the year 1859 the Catholic Directory reported in connection with the Cathedral: "The Rev. Sebastian Wolf, Pastor of the Germans, to whom he preaches at the Cathedral, at the Mass at 9 o'clock."

Father Wolf, by authority of Archbishop Alemany, now organized the German Catholics into a regular parish, and with their aid built a small church on Sutter Street under the patronage of St. Boniface, the Apostle of the German people. No Directories were issued in 1862 and 1863, but for the year 1863 the Catholic Directory has this note: "German Free School for Boys, attached to St. Boniface Church, Sutter Street. Pupils, 60." The girls doubtless attended the select schools conducted by the various Sisterhoods.

As early as 1867 Archbishop Alemany urged a change in the location of St. Boniface Church and School. On December 18, 1869, therefore, according to the Journal of His Grace, a "Fifty Vara Lot for the German Catholic Church and School was purchased at Tyler Street (now Golden Gate Avenue) between Jones and Leavenworth subject to the same conditions as the Sutter St. Lot." The church was annually reported as situated on Sutter Street till the year 1875, when for the first time the Catholic Directory reports St. Boniface German Church on Tyler Street, near Jones. The Rev. Sebastian Wolf,



MOST REV. PATRICK W. RIORDAN, D. D.

who had organized the parish, continued in charge either as pastor or as assistant till the arrival of Franciscans in 1887. The latter, by order of Archbishop Patrick W. Riordan, D. D., in 1893, established another parish for the Germans on Army Street under the Patronage of St. Anthony of Padua.—For details on the activities of the Friars Minor elsewhere in California after the Mission Period the reader is referred to our volume on Mission Santa Barbara.

I

THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA

(Correct Dates of Their Founding)

San Diego de Alcalá, July 16, 1769.
San Carlos Borromeo, or Carmelo, June 3, 1770.
San Antonio de Padua, July 14, 1771.
San Gabriel, Arcangel, September 8, 1771.
San Luis Obispo, September 1, 1772.
San Francisco de Asís, or Dolores, June 29, 1776.
San Juan Capistrano, November 1, 1776.
Santa Clara de Asís, January 12, 1777.
San Buenaventura, March 31, 1782.
Santa Barbara, December 4, 1786.
La Purisima Concepcion, December 8, 1787.
Santa Cruz, August 28, 1791.
La Soledad, October 9, 1791.
San José, June 11, 1797.
San Juan Bautista, June 24, 1797.
San Miguel, Arcangel, July 25, 1797.
San Fernando Rey, September 8, 1797.
San Luis Rey, June 13, 1798.
Santa Inés, September 17, 1804.
San Rafael, Arcangel, December 14, 1817.
San Francisco Solano, July 4, 1823.

INDEX

A

Abella, Fr. Ramón, 101, 102, 138, 145, 147, 154, 162, 164, 187, 264, 278, 280, 405-407.
Acapulco, 4, 5.
Accolti, Rev. Michael, S. J., 326, 328, 330, 331.
Acorns as food, 5, 13, 63, 193.
Activities, Building, 54-56, 111-112.
Activo, The, 274.
Address to Bishop Alemany, 334-337.
Administrator, Diocesan, 320-322, 325, 328, 329.
Aertker, Fr. Victor, 415-416.
Agave Americana, 139.
Agriculture, 88, 284.
Aguirre, J. B., 28, 74, 75, 102.
Alabado, hymn, 32, 33, 259.
Alcaldes, 96-97, 121.
Alcatráz, Island, 414.
Alemany, Rt. Rev. J. S., O. P., 332, 333, 338, 343, 344, 351, 355-356, 359, 360; Most Rev., 361, 366-367, 416.
Alaman, Lucas, 225-226, 230-232.
Alameda Creek, 16; Town Site, 10, 41-42, 130.
All Hallows, Ireland, 360.
Allowance or Stipend, 68, 83, 91, 98, 109, 140, 145, 159.
Alta, California, The, 305.
Altár, Sonora, 263.
Altimira, Fr. José, 164-167, 178, 267.
Alvarado, John B., 204, 205, 214, 218, 219, 235, 240, 245, 294.
Alvarez, Francisca, 277; Joaquin, 277; José, 120.
Amadór, Pedro, 130-131; Valley, 19.
Amat. Rt. Rev. Thaddeus, C. M., 302.
Ambassador, Mexican, at Rome, 287.
American River, 307.
Asistencia San Rafael, 164, 169, 175.
Assembly, Territorial, 187, 218-219.
Assessment, Special, on Missions, 178.
Attack, Newspaper, on Sisters, 365-366.
Attempt on Life of Bishop, 291.
Augustinian Friar drowns in Cermeño (Drake's) Bay, 5.
Authoritative declaration on Mission ownership, 225-227, 230-232.
Autographs in facsimile of Bishop Alemany, 363; President Buchanan, 349; Rev. J. B., Brouillet, 327; Fr. Cambon, 119, 379; Fr. Danti, 381; Fr. Espí, 382; Rev. A. Langlois, 333; Fr. Palôu, 111, 375; Portolá, 14; Fr. Rúbio, 321; Fr. Sainz, 383; Fr. Serra, 72.
Ayala, J. B., 27, 28, 36; Juan Manuel, 74.

B

Babylon or madhouse, 326.
Baegert, Rev. Jacobo, S. J., 69.
Bagaria, Rev. Pedro, 359.
Bahia de los Pinos, 397; de San Francisco, 5.
Balanzuela, Francisca, 262.
Balsas, or rafts, 126.
Baltimore, 268.
Bancroft, H. H., 28, 39, 52, 69, 107, 110, 125, 129, 137, 155, 158, 159, 165-168, 175, 181, 189, 190, 201, 203, 205, 208, 212-214, 217, 218, 224-225, 232, 233, 246-248, 251, 281-282, 316, 376-377, 399, 400.
Bandini, Juan, 205, 213, 214, 218.
Banns, Marriage, 273-274.
Baptismal Register, First Book, 261, 265; Second Book, 265.
Baptism, First, 67; on the march, 170, 171.
Baronda, Manuel, 118.
Bartlett, W. A., 304, 305.
Bathhouse, Indian, 137.
Bay, San Francisco, Old, 3-5; see San Francisco Bay.
Beans and grain, 108.
Bear fight, 40.
Becher, Fr. Gerhard, 415.
Beechey, F. W., 190.
Beechinor, Sister M. Paul, 364.
Beier, Brother Erasmus, 416.

Beginnings of Mission, 86, 88, 251; of Yerba Buena, 300-301; of Benicia, 404.
Bell, Angelus, 258, 259.
Benson, Sister M. Frances, 364.
Berkeley, Cal., 17.
Bernál, Ana, 274; Carmen, 414; Jacoba, 266; Juan, 274.
Berreyesa, Ana, 274.
Berries, Various, 63.
Bigotry, Insane, 365-366.
Biographical sketch of St. Francis, 385-397.
Bishop proposed, 285; appointed, 332.
Bishop García Diego disheartened, 294.
Black Point, 300.
Blanchet, Most Rev. F. N., 321.
Bled to death, The Mission, 285.
Blessing of Dolores church, 55.
Blossom, The, 190.
Bodega, Juan F. de la, 75-76.
Bodega Bay, 400-401; Fort, 172-174.
Boissier, Rev. Th., 329-330.
Bolaños, Francisco de, 397.
Bold scheme, 213-217.
Bolton, H. E., 397.
Books, Mission, 67.
Boorishness of Vallejo, 293-294.
Booty, The Mission property, 218.
Borica, Diego, 118, 121, 124-126, 129-131, 134, 144, 300.
Boronda, Manuel, 263.
Boundaries of the dioceses, 361-362; of the Mission, 187.
Brackett, J. E., 316.
Branchi, Fr. Alexander, 322.
Branciforte, Viceroy, 132-134.
Brannan, Samuel, 305.
Briones, Widow, 194.
Brookline, The, 305.
Brouillet, Rev. J. B. A., 321-326, 328.
Brown, C., 356; Sister M. Gabriel, 364.
Brutality of Vallejo, 202.
Bucareli, Viceroy, 19, 23-27, 30, 43, 64, 67, 78, 79, 80, 83, 84, 89, 94, 96, 97, 134.
Buchanan, President James, 349.
Buckley, Sister Fidelis, 355.
Buena Esperanza Valley, 174.
Building activities, 109, 117, 118, 120, 121, 136, 137, 145; at the presidio, 246-247.
Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, 328.
Burial, First, 277; Register, 117, 261, 277.
Buri-Buri Rancho, 134, 196.
Burnett, Gov. P. H., 339.
Bustamante, President Anastasio, 225, 285, 287, 288.

C

Cabot, Fr. Juan, 164.
Cabrera Bueno, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12.
Cabrillo, J. R., 397.
Cadereyto, Querétaro, 280.
California distrusted, 176-177.
Callahan, Leroy, 373.
Camacho, José, 75.
Cambon, Fr. Benito, 44, 45, 47, 48, 53, 68, 72, 79, 98, 103, 262, 263, 276, 278, 379-380, 401.
Campa y Cos, Fr. Miguel, 30.
Canicaynos Indians, 169, 266.
Cañizares, José, 28, 50, 51, 53, 75; Pedro, 274.
Cantil Blanco, 37, 54, 74.
Cape Mendocino, 4, 174; San Lucas, 288.
Capuchin Nuns, 118.
Cargo, 210.
Carmel Island, 414.
Carmelite Convent, 133-134.
Carmelo Mission, see San Carlos.
Carmelo River, 7.
Carmen, Maria del, 196, 263.
Carmen Valley, 173.
Carquinez Strait, 17, 145, 169, 278, 280, 305.
Carrillo, Carlos, 213; José, 165, 178.
Carroll, Rev. Richard, 360.
Carabajal, Josefa, 277.
Carter, 335.
Carvajal, C. G., 147.
Casados y Velados, 274, 320.
Cassin, Rev. James, 364.
Castillo, Pedro, 120, 122, 194, 237, 238.
Castro, Carlos, 165, 178; Francisco, 71, 74, 165, 178; José, 204, 301; Manuel, 316.
Castroville, Cal., 16.
Catalá, Fr. Magin, 154, 163.
Catalonian Volunteers, 6, 15, 132.
Catechumens, 252, 259.

Cathedral of Bishop Diego, 288.
Catholic Church and governments, 183.
Cattle brand, 188.
Cattle, Colonists', 45; presidio's, 107.
Celis, Eulalia, 106, 263.
Cemetery, Mission, 278; at Yerba Buena, 323.
Census of 1842, 304.
Cermeño, Sebastian, 4, 5, 9, 397.
Chamisso, Albert, 155.
Change, Radical, 164-165.
Chapman, C., 398.
Chaplaincy, Presidio, 107-108.
Chico, Mariano, 235, 301.
Children, Mission, 259-261.
Chinese and Japanese, 307.
Choir, Mission, 260; Choirmaster, 185.
Cholera at San Francisco, 352.
Choris, Louis, 156.
Christian Advocate, The, 365-366.
Christmas Crib, 393.
Chulchui, La Asumpcion, 262.
Church, Mission, 100, 109, 115, 145, 155-156, 161, 242, 290; dedicated, 117; at Presidio, 107, 161-162; goods, 145, 184-185, 331; at Yerba Buena, 302, 304.
Cincinnati, Ohio, 355.
Claptrap, 203-204.
Clear Lake, Cal., 416.
Clergy during gold fever, 310-311; of new diocese, 288.
Climate, Peninsula, 163, 195.
Cloverdale, Cal., 174.
Coahuila, Mexico, 80.
Cody, Rev. Thomas, 364.
Coin scarce, 310.
College of Guadalupe, 200; San Fernando, 51, 67, 68, 71, 73, 74, 106, 126, 121, 132, 134, 136, 140, 145, 167, 200, 251; Santa Cruz, 30.
College of Father Fontaine, 357-358; Jesuits', 328.
Colonists, 43-44, 49, 71; not molested for contributions, 160, 211.
Colonization swindle, 213-218.
Colorado River, 31; Columbia, 172.
Colton, Walter, 247.
Columbus, The, 333.
Comerford, Sister M. Teresa, 364.
Commander general, 80.
Commissioners of confiscation, 239-244.
Complaints of Vallejo, 206.
Conceit, Monumental, 365.
Concepcion, Maria de la, 264-265, 401-405.
Confirmation Register, 276.
Confirmations by Fr. Serra, 78-79, 103; by Bishop Diego, 288-289.
Confiscation of Dolores, 224, 236, 239-244.
Congress, Mexican, 179; delegate to, 178.
Constitution, Mexican, 180, 184.
Contra Costa, 53, 130.
Contributions, Forced, 159-166, 206-211.
Contribution for Yerba Buena church, 302.
Contribution to Bishop refused by Vallejo, 292-293.
Converts, First, 61; their loss and gain, 256-257; numerous, 265-266; how attracted, 124, 251; English, 267-268.
Coppinger, John, 304.
Cordero, M. A., 273.
Córdoba, Alberto, 144, 300.
Cornerstone-laying, 100.
Coronel, Ignacio, 214.
Córtes, Decree of Spanish, 225.
Cortés, Fr. Juan, 125.
Cortéz, The, 365.
Costanzó, Miguel, 6.
Council at Carmelo, 8.
Covetous paisanos, 228.
Cow Mountains, 174.
Coyle, Rev. Francis, 329, 330, 352.
Coyotes, 195.
Crespi, Fr. Juan, 8, 9, 11-21, 35, 36, 41, 99, 100.
Croke, Rev. James, 352.
Cronin, Sister M. Joseph, 364.
Cropper, Thomas B., 365-366.
Cross planted by Anza, 37; on the San Joaquin, 406.
Curacies, 234, 297.
Curates, 234.
Cuchillones Indians, 126, 131.

D

Daily Routine, 258-259.
Dayly, Sister Mary, 364.
Danish West Indies, 282.
Dantí, Fr. Ant., 114, 123, 125, 263, 380-381.

Darien, Bishop of, 251-252.
Dates of founding and dedication of church, 56, 57, 67.
Dávalos, Rev. Miguel, 98.
Dávila, Jose J., 100, 277.
Death of Viceroy Bucareli, 78-79; of Leidesdorff, 282; of Moraga, 278; of Fr. Serra, 106.
Decay, Causes of, 193, 210.
Decree, Impertinent, 299.
Decrees of First Synod, 340, 342.
De Croix, Carlos F., 15; Teodoro, 82, 192.
Dedication of Mission and presidio, 52-53, 56.
Delmas, Rev. M. A., 329, 331, 338, 342.
Demagogues, 199.
Description of Port San Francisco, 36-38.
Devotional exercises, 20, 31.
Diabolical plot, 215-217.
Diário of Fr. Abella, 405-407.
Diatribe of Del Valle, 244-245.
Diaz, Rev. Cristóbal, 75; Fr. Juan, 24.
Diego, Fr. Francisco Garcia, 200, 206, 280. 285, 287, 382; as Bishop, 234, 237-238, 332, 343, 355, 383, 415.
Diocese of Monterey, 338, 344; of the Two Californias, 287.
Diocesan Synod, First, 340, 342.
Disappointed plotters, 217-218.
Discovery, The, 109.
Discovery of Monterey Bay, 15; of Old San Francisco Bay, 3-5, 9-11; of present bay, 11; of site of Dolores, 39.
Disloyal plot, 205.
Disorderly alcaldes, 97.
Distress of soldiers, 210.
Ditch through Mission plaza, 193.
Divine Service at Mission, 253, 259-261, 290; at presidio, 162.
Doctrina Cristiana, 253-254, 259.
Documents collected, 315-316.
Doherty, G. O., 334.
Dolores Mission, Beginnings of, 47; drawbacks, 108; endangered and saved, 165-167; lands of, 211; life at, 138-143; limit of its history, 366; mortality, 162-163; a parish, 323; patronal feast, 185; resident priest, 295-296; property left, 312; how reached, 350-351; a resort, 350-352; served from Santa Clara, 289; site of, 46, 412, 414, 415; supplies to presidio, 120; mentioned, 71, 75, 125, 176, 195, 207, 208, 209, 234, 236, 250, 261, 276, 289-290, 316, 329, 356, 359, 360, 366, 367.
Dominican Fathers, 80, 125; Sisters, 355, 404, 415.
Dorland, Robert, 350; Thomas, 357.
Doubet, Rev. José, 329.
Douglas, Thomas, 306.
Doyle, J. T., 377; Sister Sebastian, 355.
Drafts, Worthless, 209.
Drake, Francis, 397-401; Bay, 9.
Dress, Indian, 143.
Duggan, Sister M. Clare, 364.
Dugout, The, 36.
Duhaut-Cilly, A., 192-193.
Dumétz, Fr. Francisco, 94.
Dunleavy, J. G. T., 305.
Durán, Fr. Narciso, 182, 184, 205. 209, 232, 234, 285, 294.
Durango, Mexico, 177.
Dwinelle, J. W., 314, 400, 411-415.

E

Earmarks of sheep, 188.
Earthquakes, 144.
Easter at Dolores, 318.
Echeandia, J. M., 187, 198, 199, 226, 227, 230.
Editors, Unscrupulous, 365.
Ehrhardt, Onésimus, 415.
Elections, 121, 178.
Elisabeth, Queen, 398.
Elks encountered, 45-46.
Emancipation decree, 229; refused by neophytes, 221-222, 228.
Emerald Isle, Sons of the, 368.
Emmitsburg, Md., 354.
Emory, W. H., 315.
England, War with, 78-79.
Ensenada de los Llorones, 28, 46, 412.
Entry, First, in Baptismal Register, 261.
Entries in Latin, 331.
Epidemic of Measles, 124, 280.
Episcopal, First, church, 306.
Erin go Bragh, 368.
Espí, Fr. José de la Cruz, 127, 129, 381-382.
Espinazo, del Diablo, 174.

Espinosa, Juan Ignacio, 232.
Esténaga, Fr. Thomas Eleutério, 164, 181, 182, 184, 185, 187, 188, 190, 192-194, 200, 201, 280, 301, 409.
Estéro de San Rafael, 177.
Estudillo, J. M., 181, 189, 190, 236; José Joaquin, 168, 236, 238, 239.
Exaggerated figures, 247, 281.
Expeditions, 4-14, 15-19, 20-22, 24-29, 30-47, 53-55, 145-146, 168-175, 405-407.
Expenses of Mission founding, 68-69.
Ewing, General Charles, 328.
Ezeta, Bruno de, 29, 30.

F

Fages, Pedro, 6, 15, 16, 19, 20, 35, 41, 84, 91, 93, 106, 108-109, 263.
Fahey, Rev. John, 329.
Faithful servant, A, 280.
Farallones, The, 9, 11, 36-38, 48, 400.
Farallones Bay, 12, 17, 30.
Farias, Valentin, 213-217.
Feast of St. Francis, 154-156, 185.
Felch, Alpheus, 345.
Fennell, Michael, 357.
Ferdinand, the Catholic, 251.
Fernandez, Fr. J. M., 125, 126, 129, 383; José Pérez, 107, 236.
Fernandinos Franciscans, 233.
Fernando VII, 203.
Fiction, Pious, 68-69.
Figueroa, José, 200, 202, 204-206, 208, 209, 213, 217, 219, 224, 226, 228, 230, 232, 233-237, 285, 297, 300, 301.
Figs and other fruit, 115.
Filoteo, Rev. Sebastian, 359.
First ship in harbor, 28; first child born at Yerba Buena, 268; first holy Mass at Dolores, 47.
Flag, U. S., raised, 301-302, 304.
Flight of two friars, 200.
Flogging, 107, 238-239.
Flores, Gumesindo, 238, 245.
Folsom, J. L., 316.
Font, Fr. Pedro, 30, 34-43, 250, 252, 254.
Fontaine, Rev. Flavian, 330, 331, 350-359.
Food at Mission, 141, 258-259.
Forbes, Alexander, 214.
Foreign visitors, 154.
Fort Point, 120, 414; Ross, 189; San Joaquin, 144-145, 247; Sutter, 307.
Fortuni, Fr. Buenaventura, 145, 154, 185, 405-407.
Founders of Mission, 45; of Yerba Buena, 300-301.
Founding of Mission, 272.
Fraileros, 94-95.
Friars faithful to Lady Poverty, 189-190; Mexican arrive, 200; Minor, why so called, 389; at liberty to swear, 181; according to Langsdorff, 139.
Frightened at Yerba Buena, 323.
Frances, Sister, 355.
Franciscan, Last, 269.
Fremont, John C., 12.
French vessel, 160.
Funds for starting Mission, 27, 68-69.
Funeral of J. J. Moraga, 107.
Furniture at presidio, 161.

G

Gale, W. A., 195.
Galicia, Spain, 263.
Gálico, The, 150.
Galindo, Juan, 266; Nicolas, 274.
Gallagher, Rev. H., 350, 362, 364.
Gallégos, Carlos, 43.
Gálvez, Joseph de, 3-5, 15, 85, 92, 197.
Games, Indian, 156, 259.
Garden, Mission, 142.
Garrison of San Francisco, 201.
Geese, Wild, 14.
Gente de razon, 244, 265.
German immigrants, 416; Parish, 415-417; Pastor, 356; School, 416; Sermons, 416.
Gerstaecker, Frederick, 316-319.
Gift, Precious, 75.
Gigedo, Revilla, 118.
Gil, Fr. Luis, 163, 164, 266, 274.
Gilroy, Cal., 16.
Gilroy, John, 168, 171.
Giribet, Fr. Miguel, 106.
Girls and widows, Apartment of, 141, 252.
Gleeson, Rev. William, 352.
Goemaere, Mother Mary, 333, 355.
Gold, Discovery of, 307-308.
Golden Gate, 4, 9, 12, 22, 24, 28, 29, 30, 37, 192.
Golden Hind, The, 398-400.

Gómez, Fr. Francisco, 6, 11; Manuel, 160.
González, Diego, 107.
Goroy, fortified village, 170.
Gospel of Christ, The, 250.
Government changes, 80.
Grain yield, see Tables.
Granada, Spain, 118.
Gray Franciscans, 200.
Green, Sister Ignatia, 355.
Gregory XIII, Pope, 137; Gregory XVI, 287.
Grief of Bishop Diego, 290-291.
Grijalva, Juan, 44, 108, 262.
Grizzly bears, 195.
Guadalajara, Mexico, 74, 98, 102, 323, 404.
Guadalupe, Our Lady of, 288.
Guards, Purposes of, 85; at Mission, 114; in revolt, 205-206.
Guerra, José de la, 177, 180.
Guerrero, Francisco, 316.
Guiana, Bishop of, 226.
Gutiérrez, Fr. José, 236-239, 245, 267, 269, 281; Nicolas, 235.
Guzmán, Fr. José M., 287.

H

Habitations, Indian, 137, 142-143, 252.
Halleck, Henry W., 315-316.
Happy Valley, 354.
Hardie, James A., 323.
Haro, Francisco de, 168, 312; Ramon, 312.
Hartnell, W. E. P., 245, 293, 294.
Harvests, The, 200, see Tables.
Hawley, Sister Mary, 364.
Hennesy, James, 304.
Herald, The San Francisco, 365.
Herbs, Fragrant, 39.
Hernandez, Maria, 268.
Heroic ride, 217.
Herrera, José M., 278.
Hibernian Society, 368.
Hidalgo, Fr. José Maria, 233.
Hides, Traffic in, 195.
Highhanded proceeding, 165-166.
High Mass, First, in new church, 58; first at presidio, 52.
Híjar, José M., 213-215, 217-219.
Historical Works of Palóu, 376-378.
Hittéll, Theodore, 54, 109, 129, 139, 143, 157, 183, 214, 233, 238-242, 245, 248.
Holbein, Rev. John C., 321.
Homeless, Missionaries rendered, 230-232.
Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, 320.
Honorine, Sister, 355.
Horra, Fr. Ant. de la Concepcion, 131.
Hospitality of the friars, 195-196.
Humboldt, Alexander, 400.
Humoring the neophytes, 252.

I

Iberia, Rev. Nicholas de, 74.
Idolatry, superstition, 62.
Infidel jargon, 229.
Illiteracy, 120.
Immigrants, 43-44, 167, 310-311, 325.
Incredible malice, 291-293.
Indians of California and Mexico compared, 200-201.
Indian battle, 59, 131; beliefs, 62; character, 142, 156-157; dress, 63-64; habits, 59-64; hair, 61-62; habitations, 113, 115, 192; feel injustice, 209-211, 219; language, 21, 45, 108, 156, 171; interpreter, 251; lands, private property, 231; marriage, 64; mechanical arts, 161; mortality, 162-163; population, see Tables; real owners of their land, 222-223; reservations, 204; slaves, 245; soap, 63; treatment at Mission, 222-223; mentioned, 7-10, 20, 21, 28, 36, 45-49, 169-172, 192, 251-252.
Ingoldsby, Rev. John, 329.
Inoxante, Raymundo, 273.
Inspector of Missions, 219, 245.
Instructions for neophytes, 250-251; 253-254, 258-259.
Interrogatorio on Indians, 147-153.
Inventory taken, 239-244.
Irish population in 1854, 368.
Italian Franciscans, 322.
Iturbide, Agustin, 176, 180.

J

Jackson, Helen Hunt, 248.
Janssens, Augustin, 214.
Jesuit Fathers, 326, 415.
Jimeno, Fr. J. J., 338, 340, 344, 360; Manuel, 314, 339.
Journeys of Fr. Serra, 103.
Judas chastised, 318.

July 4th, 1836, 302.
Juno, The, 137, 401.

K

Keane, Sister M. Augustine, 364.
Kearny, Stephen W., 314.
Kilkenny, Ireland, 364.
King, Spanish, kindly disposed, 83-84.
Kinsale, Ireland, 364.
Know-Nothings, 368.
Kodiaks (Alaskans), 161.
Kotzebue, Otto von, 154, 160, 189-190.

L

La Asumpcion, 262.
Laborers at Dolores, 164-165.
Lady Poverty, Meaning of, 388.
La Favorita, 75, 102, 263, 276.
Laguna de los Dolores, 49, 51, 54, 58, 262, 317, 411-415; de la Merced, 22, 71, 414.
Land, Abundant, for settlers, 222-223.
Landaeta, Fr. Martin, 110, 114, 121, 122, 124-127, 129, 136.
Land Commission, 343-345; grant, 248, 288; robbery, 230.
Lands of Dolores, 136, 187, 189; property of the neophytes, 222-223, 345-349.
Langlois, Rev. Antonio, 323-326, 329-331, 333, 339, 342, 352.
Langsdorff, G. H. von, 137-143, 250.
La Pérouse, J. F. G., 109, 161, 412.
La Princesa, 75, 276.
Larkin, Thomas O., 305.
Las Cámaras del Padre, 246.
Lasuén, Fr. Fermín Francisco de, 58, 68, 97, 123-126, 189, 190, 276-277, 296-297.
Latin conversation, 138.
Latitude of Port, 38.
Laurel Creek, 187.
Llave, Pablo de la, 182.
Leather jacket soldiers, 132.
Leavenworth, T. M., 306.
Le Bordelais, 160.
Le Bret, Rev. Stanislaus, 321, 331.
Leeches, Soldiers like, 159.
Leese, Jacob P., 268, 301, 302; Rosalía, 208.
Legislature, First, 165, 178.
Leidesdorff, W. A., 282, 302, 304.
Llebaria, Rev. J. F., 342.
Leo XIII, Pope, 415.
Lestrade, Rev. Anaclet, 330, 331.
Libantiliyami Valley, 174.
Libaytos Indians, 170.
Liberal Sect or Party, 217.
Lima, Peru, 75.
Liquor and Indians, 316.
Live stock, 185, 188, 283, 314, see Tables.
List of priests at Dolores, 369-372; of rancherias and tribes, 410-411.
Locality of Dolores, 48; of Yerba Buena, 300.
Lombardo, Francisco, 215.
London, England, 267, 276.
Loreto, Lower California, 43, 66, 73, 118, 273, 404.
Los Angeles, Cal., 200, 318, 326, 329, 338, 339.
Los Cuates, 171.
Lugo, Maria B., 262.
Lull, Fr. Miguel, 126.
Lummis, Charles F., 251.
Louisa, Mother, 355.
Lozero, soldier, 121.

M

McAllister, R., 304.
McCarthy, Dennis, 334; Sister M. Martha, 364.
McEnnis, Sister Frances, 355.
McGlynn, J. A., 334, 354.
McKay, Sister Corsina, 355.
Maginnis, Rev. John, 354.
Maigret, Rt. Rev. Louis, 320.
Mail, The, 73, 74, 102.
Malevolent writers, 223.
Mal Gálico, 162-163.
Manila, 4, 6.
Marriage, First, 273; first Indian, 274; how brought about, 253; Register, 261, 273.
Marshall, James W., 307.
Marston, J. D., 306.
Martínez, M. A., 274, 276; Estévan, 74, 98, 102; Ignacio, 181, 185, 190, 192, 194, 198, 201, 267, 276, 301.
Marysville (Sacramento) diocese, 360.
Mason, Richard B., 307-308, 314-315.
Mass, Holy, First, at Dolores, 47; at presidio, 49; at Yerba Buena, 323.

Matron at the Mission, 252.
Maurelle, Francisco, 75, 263.
Mayordomos, 195, 239, 245, 248, 252.
Mayorga, Viceroy Martin de, 80. 92.
Measles, Epidemic of, 137, 280.
Mechanical arts, 270.
Medicinal herbs, 150.
Memorable day, 39-40.
Memorias (invoice) of supplies, 98, 118, 140, 184.
Mendocino County, 415.
Mercado, Fr. José M., 267, 269, 282, 289, 292, 293.
Mercéd, Laguna de, 30, 40, 136; rancho, 196.
Mercy, Sisters of, 364, 366.
Methodist congregation, First, 306.
Methods, Mission, 250-260.
Mexican Congress, 178; friars, 200; Independence, 176.
Mexican Government proposes Bishop, 333; repudiates Echeandia's decree, 225-227, 230-231; guiltless, 212.
Micheltorena, Manuel, 286, 314.
Middleton, Ireland, 364.
Migoret, Rev. Felix, 329, 330.
Military district of San Francisco, 209.
Milk loathed by Indians, 45.
Milpitas, Cal., 19.
Miramontes, Juan, 266; Maria Guadalupe, 266; Ramona, 267; Vicente, 268.
Miranda, Presentacion, 357.
Misgivings of the friars, 80.
Mission Bay, 28, 312; buildings, 111, 192, 246, 316; church property, 315; construction, 49; decay, 193; due from presidio, 210; founded, 47; garden, 115; launch, 198; mills, 156; maintains the soldiers, 210; as parish, 215; plat, 115; registers, 261; system, 116, 204.
Missionaries embarrassed, 93-95, 96, 98; swear to Independence, 177; message of, 250.
Misstatements, Bancroft's, 52.
Mob period, 366.
Mofras, Eugene Duflot de, 246, 247.
Monasterio, J. M. O., 227.
Monjério, or female apartments, 252, 253.
Monstrous charges, 189.
Montaña del maltrado, 173.
Monteil, Rev. Juan Gaspár du, 329-331.
Monterey, 3, 5, 7, 14-19, 22, 24, 28, 29, 32, 43, 44, 64-65, 70-72, 76, 98, 99, 102, 107, 117, 120, 165, 178, 180, 201-206, 208, 217, 271, 276, 287, 304, 308, 333, 339, 355, 361-362, 367, 401, 404, 412.
Montgomery, Rev. Charles, O. P., 332; John B., 304.
Moraga, Francisco, 262, 274; Gabriel, 100, 160, 274; Ignacia, 263; José Joaquin, 31-32, 35, 43, 44, 49, 53-58, 66, 70, 71, 100, 102, 117, 262, 263, 278.
Moreno, Fr. Rafael, 244, 245, 277, 287.
Morgana, Juan de, 5.
Mormon immigrants, 305.
Mortality, Causes of, 162-163, 281.
Mosquitoes, 17.
Mountain Lake, 414.
Mugártegui, Fr. Pedro, 94-95, 134. Mulligan Hill, 6.
Murguia, Fr. José, 66, 70, 85, 86, 89, 100, 102, 103.
Muro, Fr. Miguel, 269.
Murphy, Timothy, 354.
Musical instruments, 155, 184.

N

Names of the Missions, 3, 6.
Nationality of immigrants, 310.
Nation, Lands of the, 187.
Natives of Mexico, 250-251.
Nativism, Silly, 199.
Nativist rule, 236.
Nava, Rev. José, 102.
Navarrete, Ramon, 168.
Navidad, Port of, 5.
Neophytes in 1839, 245; rights ignored, 215; to be scattered, 216; village, 115; last survivors, 248; see Indians.
Nesqually, Diocese of, 321.
Neve, Felipe de, 43, 66, 71, 72, 80-97, 108, 130, 211.
New Albion, 398; New Mexico, 80; New San Francisco, 165; New York, 364.
News, Bad, 78-79; scarce, 73.
Newspaper, First, 305; suspends, 308; unprincipled, 365-366.

Nobili, Rev. John, S. J., 326, 328.
Nóboa, Fr. Diego, 102, 114.
Nocedal, Fr. José, 50, 51, 71, 74.
Noisy, but bloodless battle, 198.
Nootka Sound, 163.
Noriega, Fr. Matias, 75, 79, 98, 99, 277.
North, Farthest, 172.
North Shore first visited, 29.
Notre Dame Sisters, 355.
Novena in honor of St. Francis, 28.
Nueva Vizcaya, 80.
Nuptial blessing, 274.

O

Oakland, Cal., 17, 41-42.
Oath of allegiance, 180-181; on Constitution, 180; on Independence, 177; of Vicar Forane, 330-331.
Object of missionaries, 86, 250-251.
O'Brien, P. M., 334, 335.
Obstacles to mission work, 251.
Occupants of Mission, 316-318, 356.
O'Connell, Rev. Eugene, 342, 355, 356, 359, 360, 368.
O'Donnell, H., 335.
O'Dwyer, Sister M. Bernard, 364.
O'Farrell, Jasper, 354.
Oliva, Fr. Vicente, 154.
Olompali Indians, 175, 266.
Olvera, Agustin, 214.
Omiomi Indians, 266.
Orchestra, Mission, 155.
Ord, Pacificus, 339.
Ordáz, Fr. Blas, 166, 168-175, 186.
Orders, Holy, conferred, 344, 359
Ordinationes Synodales, 367.
Oregon, 321, 323, 324, 326, 355.
Orphan Asylums, Two, 354-355.
Ortega, José Francisco, 6, 9, 11-13; Francisco, 165, 178; Soledad, 196.
Osio, Antonio, 203, 218.

P

Padrés, J. M., 212-219, 224, 229.
Paisano chiefs, 212, 223, 231-234, 315.
Pallium, The, 361, 362.
Palmo, The, 46.
Palo Alto, redwood, 41.
Palomares, José, 165, 178.
Palóu, Fr. Francisco, 3, 20-24, 29-31, 35, 36, 40, 41, 44-49, 51, 54-64, 66-68, 72, 76, 77, 79-81, 85, 86, 89, 91, 93, 98-100, 102, 103, 106, 107, 109, 256, 261, 263, 273, 274, 276, 278, 373-379, 412, 414, 416.
Pame Indians, 99.
Panamá, Isthmus of, 250, 310, 333, 355, 364.
Pantoja, Juan, 75, 102.
Parade, St. Patrick's, 368.
Parage de San Pedro y San Pablo, 263.
Parish, Dolores a, 354.
Pastoral of Bishop Alemany, 340.
Pastures for live stock, 188.
Patent, U. S., for Dolores property, 345-349.
Patriarchal life, 260.
Pattie, James O., 193, 407-410.
Payéras, Fr. Mariano, 125, 175, 177-178.
Peaches and other fruit, 115.
Pelican, The, 398.
Peña, Fr. Thomas de la, 52, 66, 70, 72, 103, 134.
Penalty for robbing Pious Fund, 344.
Peneiro, Rev. J. M., 329.
Penitencia Creek, 16.
Peons, Neophytes turned, 234.
Peralta, Gabriel, 262, 273; Juan José, 274.
Peru, 160, 167.
Petaluma Creek, 54; Indians, 266; Valley, 166.
Petra, Fr. Miguel de, 374.
Peyri, Fr. Antonio, 125.
Philadelphia, Pa., 362.
Philippine Islands, 98; ships, 4, 6.
Pico, Pio, 203, 204, 218, 219, 225, 249, 290, 312, 314.
Picpus Fathers, 320, 329, 330, 356.
Pictures as aids, 253, 258.
Pilár, Maria del, 107, 263.
Pinto, Juana, 273; Pablo, 273.
Pious Fund, 27, 68, 69, 83, 85, 88, 109, 134, 159, 214, 215, 294, 343-344, 366-367.
Pittsburgh, Pa., 356.
Placerville, Cal., 416.
Plank road to Dolores, 350-351.
Playa de los Dolores, 262.
Plenary Council of Baltimore, 342, 354.
Plot, Dark, foiled, 167, 215-218, 222.

Point Almejas, 9, 36; Angel Custódio, 9, 11, 14, 414; Año Nuevo, 7, 74; Avisadero, 246; Lobos, 22, 29, 36, 414; Pinos, 7, 13, 34; Reyes, 5, 11, 16-19, 29, 36, 50, 317, 400; San Pablo, 175, 246; San Pedro, 11; San Quentin, 240.
Population at Dolores, 136-137, 185, 351; at Yerba Buena, 306, 310, 356.
Port of Bucareli, 76; San Francisco (Old or Cermeño), 9-11, 397-400; San Francisco (New or present), 15, 85, 160, 412-413; Vallejo, 54.
Portolá, Gaspár de, 6-8, 11, 13-16, 20, 22, 35, 99.
Portland, Oregon, 352.
Portmouth, The, 304.
Potrero of Dolores, 196, 312, 314, 397.
Pottery, 121, 137.
Poor Ladies of St. Clare, 390.
Poor Souls' Bell, 259.
Poverty at Dolores, 185, 289-290.
Prendergast, Rev. John J., 360, 371.
Presbyterian church, First, 306.
Presentation Sisters arrive, 364.
Presidio of San Francisco founded, 49; buildings, 110; construction, 51; dedication, 52-53; due to Mission, 120; Patron, 52; plan of, 50, 51; mentioned, 43, 44, 107, 108, 110, 144, 181, 185, 195, 205, 206, 208, 263, 266, 267, 280, 414.
Priest, First secular, 74.
Priests, Scarcity of, 320; arrival of, 328-331.
Prince of Wales Archipelago, 76.
Prince William's Sound, 75.
Procession, Religious, 75.
Progress, Mission, 122.
Property of neophytes coveted, 203, 212, 218-219, 222; of Dolores, 242, 246, 248.
Prophesy of Figueroa, 221; of Fr. Font, 38.
Protest of Fr. Guardian, 134-135.
Province of the Sacred Heart, 415.
Prudhomme, Victor, 229.
Pueblo de Dolores, 242.
Pulgas, Rancho de las, 193, 196.
Punished for being Christians, 209.
Purisima Concepcion Mission, 153.
Puzzled, Bancroft, 7.

Q

Querétaro, Mexico, 263, 280.
Quevedo, Rt. Rev. Juan de, 250-251.
Quijas, Fr. Lorenzo, 200, 201, 230, 236, 244, 267, 268, 302.
Quinn, Rev. John, 344.
Quiros, Fernando, 50-57, 75, 76.

R

Raballon, A., 324-325.
Rafael, interpreter, 168, 170, 171.
Raimundo, Indian, 126-127, 131.
Rancho de Castro, 246; de la Costa, 241; del Rey, 134, 136, 210, 211.
Ranchos, Mission, 196.
Rations, The Question of, 83-92, 93, 96.
Rats, Abundance of, 355.
Reading and writing, 120.
Reál, Fr. José, 269, 282, 321, 322, 415.
Reál, a coin, 190.
Reception to Bishop Alemany, 334-337.
Reddan, Sister Mary de Sales, 364.
Regency, Mexican, 176-178.
Regidores, 121; see Alcaldes.
Registers, Mission, 67, 289.
Reglamento, The, 83, 84, 92.
Regulations, Mission, 251.
Remédios, Neustra Señora de los, 75.
Reports, Annual, 57-58, 106, 107, 164, 269; on agriculture, 269; Biennial, 136; on Mission lands, 187-188; on live stock, 269; on spiritual results, 269, 271-272.
Republican government and the Catholic Church, 183.
Reservations, Indian, 228.
Resident, Last Franciscan, 267.
Retreat for priests, 367.
Return of the Franciscans, 415-416.
Revilla, Cristóbal, 50.
Revolt at presidio, 198; against Victoria, 325.
Rezánof, Nicholaus, P., 401-403.
Richardson, William A., 267, 274, 276, 300, 301.
Ridiculous project, 132-134.
Rieman, Fr. Stanislaus, 416.

Rincon Point, 300.
Rio Carmelo, 30; Colorado, 133; Guadalupe, 40, 41, 70, 71; Jesus Maria, 170, 172; Sacramento, 147, 170, 172; San Francisco, 18, 41, 53, 147; San Joaquin, 19, 28, 41, 145; San Juan Capistrano, 89, 147; San Pedro, 170; Todos Santos, 172, 173; Santa Delfina (Monterey, Salinas), 20, 41.
Riobó, Fr. Juan, 75, 102.
Riordan, Most Rev. P. W., D. D., 415, 417, 418; Rev. Joseph W., S. J., 356, 358, 359.
Rivera, Fernando, 6, 20-22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 40, 43, 44, 49, 50, 54, 64-66, 70, 84, 89.
Roadstead San Francisco, 30.
Road to Dolores, 161, 350-351, 358-359.
Robbery, Wholesale, 231.
Robin, Francois, 358.
Robinson, Alfred, 193-198.
Robles, Corporal, 35, 40.
Rodríguez, Juan J., 267; Maria, 267-268.
Romani, Fr. Paulino, 322-323.
Roméu, José Antonio, 118.
Roquefeuil, Camille de, 160, 163.
Rosa, The, 219.
Rosary recited, 169, 171; Sunday, 75.
Rothbert, Brother Kilian, 415.
Routine, Mission, 258-259.
Rúbio, Fr. José Maria González, 206, 207, 268, 277, 288, 289, 320, 321, 323, 325, 328, 332, 333, 339, 342, 361, 362, 383.
Runaway neophytes, 123-124, 126-127, 129-131.
Rurik, The, 154.
Russell, Sister M. Baptist, 364.
Russian Calendar, 137; River, 174; vessels, 137, 154.
Russians, The, 24, 143, 161, 172-174, 177, 189.
Ruyuta Point, 169.
Ryan, R. F., 335.

S

Sacalanes Indians, 126-131.
Sacramento City, 307, 329.
Sainz de Lucio, Fr. Juan, 145, 147, 265, 266, 383.
St. Anthony's Church, 418.
St. Boniface's Church and School, 415-416.
St. Ignatius College, 359.
St. Mary's Cathedral, 416.
St. Patrick's Church, 355, 364; Day, 368.
St. Clare of Assisi, 390.
St. Francis, 3, 385-397.
St. Louis, Mo., 415.
St. Michael, 145.
St. Paul quoted, 183, 366.
St. Pius, 100.
Sal, Hermenegildo, 107, 110, 118, 120, 134, 263.
Salazár, Fr. Isídro Alonzo, 132.
Salsones Indians, 263.
Salve Regina, 32.
San Agustin, The, 4, 5.
San Andrés Valley, 13, 21, 40.
San Antonio, The, 73.
San Antonio Mission, 32, 68, 71, 89, 96, 97, 99, 178, 290, 330; Rancho, 196.
San Bernardino Valley, 45.
San Blas, 27, 56, 71, 74, 76, 79, 98, 140, 214, 287; Springs, 169.
San Bruno, 12, 14, 132, 134, 136.
San Buenaventura, The, 5.
San Buenaventura Mission, 6, 109, 166, 322.
San Carlos, The, 27-29, 44, 48, 50, 51, 53, 56, 73.
San Carlos Mission, 6, 19, 20, 34, 35, 41, 43, 44, 71, 73, 75, 89, 97, 99, 103, 106, 130, 281, 322.
Sánchez Fr. Francisco, 338, 340, 342, 344; Francisco, 304; José A., 149, 168, 198, 201, 276, 281-282, 312, 405-407; José de la Cruz, 244.
San Diego Mission, 6, 89, 228; Port of, 5, 6, 7, 14, 32, 43, 50, 64, 67, 74, 98, 217, 219, 221, 224, 263, 287-288.
Sandwich Islands, 320.
San Francisco Mission, see Dolores; Presidio, see Presidio or Port.
San Francisquito Creek, 13, 19, 21, 35, 40, 187.
San Francisco Solano Mission, 167, 185, 192, 230, 234, 244, 292, 316, 331.
San Gabriel Mission, 32, 44, 89, 97, 200, 403.
Saniles Indians, 88.
San Joaquin Fort, 120.
San Jorge Springs, 175.
San José Mission, 19, 126, 129, 131,

154, 167, 169, 175, 178, 192, 206, 245, 268, 269, 302, 321-322, 405-406; Pueblo, 71, 107, 289, 329, 350, 361.
San Juan Capistrano Mission, 89, 94, 290.
San Leandro Creek, 16.
San Lorenzo Creek, 16.
San Luis Obispo Mission, 32, 64, 71, 89, 97, 252, 289.
San Luis Rancho, or Las Pulgas, 196.
San Luis Rey Mission, 222, 234.
San Mateo Rancho, 134, 196, 236, 241, 245; Creek, 13.
San Miguel Mission, 131, 339; Sonora, 130.
San Pablo Bay, 13, 17, 54, 400, 401; Rancho (Oakland), 196.
San Pedro Harbor, 338; Point, 169.
San Rafael Mission, 163-166, 175, 185, 292, 294, 315, 316, 322.
San Ramón Creek, 19.
San Salvador Creek, 16.
Santa Angela de Foligno, 18, 19.
Santa Anna, President A. L. de, 205, 215, 217.
Santa Anna River, 294.
Santa Barbara Channel, 73; Mission, 234, 415; Pueblo, 107, 109, 160, 186, 198, 205, 285, 288, 293, 294, 307, 310, 321, 325, 330, 338-340, 344, 361, 383, 403, 404.
Santa Catarina Valley, 173.
Santa Clara Mission, 32, 40, 64, 66, 70, 72, 73, 77-79, 84, 89, 93, 94, 98-100, 107, 108, 121, 154, 169, 178, 196, 205, 206, 238, 244, 246, 266, 267, 269, 276, 282, 288-289, 292, 312, 329, 358, 415; College, 357; Valley, 16, 45.
Santa Coleta Valley, 19.
Santa Cruz Mission, 178.
Santa Inés Mission, 68, 186, 288, 355, 356.
Santa Maria, Fr. Vicente de, 27-30, 56, 72, 202.
Santiago, The, 29, 71, 74, 98, 102.
Santillan, Rev. Prudencio, 282, 294, 297, 299, 300, 315, 316, 320, 322, 323, 330, 331, 383.
San Vicente, Rev. Agustin, 177.
Sarría, Fr. Vicente Francisco de, 163, 166, 167, 180-184.
School, First private, 306; public, 306; free, 354; Sisters', 354, 364.
School at Dolores, 356-357; Rev. Flavian Fontaine's, 359.
Scurvy, 75.
Schweninger, Rev. Florian, 356, 416.
Seal Rocks, 22, 414.
Secularization, 213-215, 219, 221-223, 224-228, 230, 231, 233-234.
Sectarian paper attacks Sisters, 365-366.
Segregation of neophytes necessary, 251-253.
Selfgovernment of Indians, 96.
Seminary, Diocesan, 288, 330, 355, 356, 359.
Semple, Robert, 305.
Señan, Fr. José, 132, 166.
Searsville, Cal., 13.
Sergeant, Insolent, 34.
Sermons in German, 416.
Serra, Fr. Junípero, 3, 6, 7, 15, 19, 20, 24-27, 30, 35, 44, 67-72, 74, 77-81, 91, 92, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103, 106, 251, 276, 397, 416.
Shasta, Cal., 172, 416.
Shea, John Gilmary, 52.
Sherman, William T., 307,308.
Shipwreck in Cermeño Bay, 5.
Shocked, Bancroft, 216.
Sick, The care of, 137.
Side altars at Dolores, 145.
Sierra de Buen Retiro, 174; Gorda, 99, 251; Madre, 171; Nevada, 41, 172; San Francisco, 18.
Silva, José M., 236.
Simpson, G., 357.
Sinaloa, Mexico, 80.
Singing at Mission, 251-260.
Sinova, José, 273.
Sisters arrive and are abused, 354-355, 365-366.
Sister Maria Dominica (Concepcion), 404.
Sitka, Alaska, 401, 404.
Sixteen to One, 310.
Slaves, Indians not, 159-160.
Sloat, John D., 304.
Smallpox, 137, 281.
Smith, T. J., 334.
Soil at Dolores, 108, 115, 142.
Solá, Pablo de, 162, 163, 168, 178-180, 187, 301; Fr. Faustino de, 263.
Soldiers, Mexican, 45, 95, 107, 158-159, 185-186; United States, 308; Volunteers, see Catalonian.
Soledad Mission, 178, 200.

Soler, Nicolas, 106, 108, 263.
Solís, Joaquin, 198.
Sonoma, 293, 308.
Sonora, Mexico, 80, 166, 167, 200, 218, 262.
Sordid story, 218.
Soriano, Rev. Father, 289.
Soto, Francisco, 261, 262; Ignacio, 262.
Sponsors, First, 262.
Spaniards excluded from office, 177, 199.
Star, The California, 303.
Statistics, 137, 185, 188, 200, 245, 246, 265.
Stigmata of St. Francis, 394-395.
Stipends, see Allowance.
Stone, First, for new church, 100.
Struewer, Brother Beatus, 415.
Suisun Bay, 54; Suisun Indians, 147, 266.
Suit for recovery of Church property, 340, 342, 345.
Sullivan, John, 354.
Summary of Mission activity, 250-260.
Suñol Valley, 19.
Supply ships, 58, 73, 102, 159.
Supplies for Mission, 71; for soldiers, 120, 159, 193.
Surgeon Joaquin Dávila, 277.
Sutro Heights, 22.
Sutter, John, 307.
Suyusuyus Indians, 280.
Sweeny, M. D., 334.
Synod, Diocesan, 367.
System, Mission, 250-260.

T

Table on Agriculture, 284; Live Stock, 283; Spiritual results, 271-272.
Tales, Reckless, 203.
Tamales, 9.
Taney, Chief Justice, 343.
Tápis, Fr. Estévan, 68, 180, 265.
Taxed, Missions to excess, 178.
Taylor, Alexander S., 160.
Teachers, 118-120, 306.
Telegraph Hill, 300.
Temperature at the Mission, 169.
Tepíc, Mexico, 74.
Test Oath an insult to priests and Religious, 183.
Texas, 60.
Tierra del Fuego, 114.
Title page of Registers, 67-68, 261-262.
Thanksgiving, Act of, 75.
Third Order of St. Francis, 392.
Thornton, Sir Edward, 343.
Threatened, Figueroa, 233.
Tobár, José, 74, 98, 102.
Tolksdorf, Fr. Paulinus, 415.
Toomy, Henry, 368.
Torquemada, Fr. Juan, 4.
Transfer of J. J. Moraga's body, 278.
Tribes, Indian, 411.
Tribunal, The Hague, 343-344.
Triumph for Archbishop Alemany, 349.
Truant neophytes, see Runaways.
Tubac, Sonora, 35, 43.
Tulancingo, Mexico, 278.

U

Uhrmacher, Brother, Nicholaus, 416.
Ukiah, Cal., 174.
Ululatos Indians, 169, 266.
Unchristian Christian Advocate, 365-366.
Union of Church and State, 81-82.
Unscrupulous accusations, 203-204.
Upstarts, Young, 199, 203.
Uria, Fr. José A., 138.

V

Vacations for the neophytes, 124, 130, 157.
Vaccination trip of Pattie, 407-410.
Valladolid, Spain, 329.
Valle, Antonio del, 177; Ignacio del, 236, 238, 240, 244-245.
Vallejo, Mariano, 185, 201-206, 218, 219, 228-230, 244, 245, 247, 281, 282, 290-295; 302, 305; Prudentiana, 268; Rosalía, 268, 302.
Valparaiso, Chili, 329.
Valuation of Dolores property, 241.
Vancouver, George, 109-116, 143, 160, 161, 250.
Van Dieman's Land, 114.
Vasquez, Tibúrcio, 245, 248, 316.
Vega, José Ramon de la, 100, 106.
Vegetation at Dolores, 142, 195.
Veiled and married, 319-320.
Velasco, Viceroy Luis de, 4.
Venégas, Rev. Miguel, S. J., 7, 69.
Venereal diseases, 137.

Vereiesa, Isabél, 262.
Veyret, Rev. Francisco, S. J., 358-359.
Vexations, 123, 125-126.
Viader, Fr. José, 125, 154, 185.
Vicars-General, 330-331, 339, 342.
Vicente, Rev. Augustin, 180.
Victoria, President Guadalupe, 180; Manuel, 203, 204, 212, 218, 224, 225, 233.
Vidal, Mariano, 31, 43.
Vila, Vicente, 7.
Vilarrasa, Fr. Francisco S., O. P., 333.
Villa Fuerte, 274.
Village, Mission, 193, 252.
Villages, Indian encountered, see Rancherias.
Villaverde, Rev. José, 102.
Vindicated, Sisters, 365-366.
Virmond, Henry, 291.
Vision of Fr. Font, 38.
Visitacion, La., 136.
Visitor's impression of Dolores Church, 351.
Vizcáino, Sebastian, 5, 7, 397.
Voltairian ideas, 199.

W

Walla-Walla, Wash., 321.
War between England and Spain, 98.
Washerwoman's Bay, 174, 414.
Washington, D. C., 328, 343.
Water, Lack of, 187-188.
Watson, H. B., 304.
Weather reports, 121.
Weaverville, Cal., 172, 416.
Weaving and spinning at Dolores, 112, 141, 156, 161.
Weeping Willows, 412, 414, 415.
White, J. W., 334.
Wholesale robbery, 214-217.
Wilbur, Rev. J. H., 306.
Williams, Sister Berenice, 355; Rev. A., 306.
Willow Pass, 18.
Wilson, C. I., 350.
Witzleben, Von, 317.
Wives, Plurality of, 64.
Wolf, Rev. Sebastian, 416-417.
Wolves, 195.
Women, Single, and girls at Mission, 112-113.
Wounds of St. Francis, 52, 394.
Wrong, A great, righted, 349.
Wrongs against Mission, 208-211.
Wurese (Vorhis?), 268.

Y

Yerba Buena (San Francisco), 144, 150, 160, 192, 194, 266, 267, 274, 281, 290, 294, 300, 302, 304, 305, 316, 322-324; Island, 414.
Yuma country, 31.

Z

Zacatecan (Mexican) Friars, 209, 234, 267, 277, 285.
Zanja, or Mission ditch, 118.
Zeal, Unselfish, of the friars, 127, 142.
Zuñiga, José de, 263.

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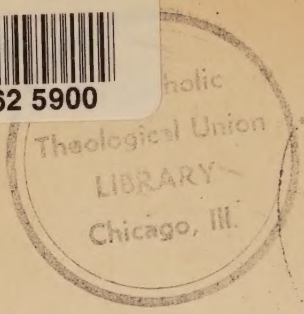

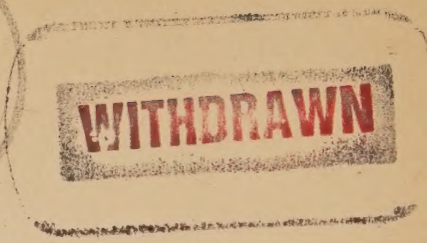

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